ENGLISH HISTORY

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CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

The Wars of York and Lancaster

1377-1509

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The Wars of York & Lancaster

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ENGLISH HISTORY BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

The Wars of York and Lancaster

1450—1485

Extracts from Blakman, Gascoigne, Pecock, Whethamstede's Register, Gregory's Chronicle, William Worcester, Wavrin, Chastellain, Comines, Warkworth, the Rolls of Parliament, the Paston and other letters, and various contemporary chronicles and songs

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DEDICATED,

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF A DISCIPLE'S GRATITUDE,

TO

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., HON. D.C.L., LL.D.,

THE HISTORIAN OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST,

AND OF SICILY.

ERRATA.

Page 26, heading, *for* "Letters" *read* "Letter."

Page 36, line 2 from bottom, *for* "1460" *read* "1461."

Page 103, line 15, *for* "1469" *read* "1470."

Page 117, last line, *omit* "made."

Page 123, l. 10 [heading of extract] *for* "1474," *read* "1475."

Page 161, l. 5 from bottom, *for* "Lous" *read* "Louis."

Page 161, l. 6 from bottom, *for* "enployed" *read* "employed."

Page 173, l. 32, A.D. 1475, *for* "Aug." *read* "Sept."

Genealogical Table IV., *under* "Earl of Warwick," *for* "1450" *read* "1449."

PREFACE.

> "Heard ye the din of battle bray,
> Lance to lance, and horse to horse?
> Long years of havock urge their destined course,
> And thro' the kindred squadrons mow their way."

THUS the poet, in fancied vision, sums up the history of the Wars of York and Lancaster. The picture may be open to criticism on the point of military tactics, for the battles appear to have been mainly fought on foot; but it conveys the first impression given by the history of the period. The battle of Barnet seems to be the type of the whole strife—a confused struggle, "alarums and excursions," slaying and being slain, on a field enwrapped in mist. Nor is it easy, in figure as in fact, to see through the mist. There is a contest between the rightful king and the wrongful king; but which is which? Is the right with Henry of Lancaster, King accepted and anointed, son and grandson of kings, or with Richard and with Edward of York, who force themselves to the front with a claim deriving its strength, half from the growing belief in the indefeasible divine right of the true heir, half from the unavowed but, in its way, equally indefeasible right of the better man to rule? And if we look at it as a contest between good

government and bad government, it is not much more easy to say which is which. The historian of our mediæval constitution has come to the conclusion "that the rule of the House of Lancaster was in the main constitutional, and that of the House of York in the main unconstitutional." But even so, it is ill choosing between an impotent constitutionalism and an effective tyranny; and the words "in the main" may cover a good deal of exception to the general statement. In the earlier stage of the contest, constitutionalism seems to lie rather with Richard of York, the administrator desired by the mass of the nation, than with the King (or perhaps rather the Queen) who maintains, in the Dukes of Suffolk and Somerset, ministers generally distrusted and hated. But in truth no principle stands out clearly on either side. The mediæval system was breaking down, partly through the degeneration of the Church, partly through the poverty of the Government, partly through the inordinate power of the great men, each with his host of retainers who made him, and whom in his turn he made, strong to defy the law. The result of the strife was the establishment of the government of the Tudors, a government often grinding and tyrannical, but which at any rate did the needful work, reducing the nobles to discipline, and reforming the Church, albeit that in this process it swept away much of good as well as of evil.

It is unfortunate that the Wars of York and Lancaster, though they drew the attention of able

and even brilliant foreign writers, lack a contemporary native historian. The version of history which all Englishmen know, or ought to know, through Shakspere, is mainly founded upon the work of Edward Hall, a lawyer in the days of Henry VIII. When we turn to our contemporary authorities, we have to put the tale together bit by bit, a mosaic of fragments, and those fragments not of the highest value. The Latin writers are but poor successors of the great historians of earlier centuries. In English, there are the London chronicles, such as that of Gregory, which are attractive by their idiomatic language and quaint mixture of simplicity and shrewdness, but which do not rise above what we might expect of the average London citizen, jotting down what he saw or knew of public affairs. Towards the close of the period, we have a work of art in Sir Thomas More's fine fragment of the History of Richard III.; but it is not contemporary, or to be relied upon as history. As some compensation for the dearth of historians, the correspondence of the Paston family affords us a picture of the every-day life of those times. It should be noted that, whereas the writers under the Tudor dynasty gave currency to the Lancastrian version of events, our contemporary chroniclers are for the most part of Yorkist tendencies. They saw and felt the short-comings of Lancastrian rule, and they looked to the elder Richard of York and to his son Edward as redressers of wrong. But Edward of York did not, after all, bring the golden age, and

so the re-action began. Then, over the body of Richard III., came in the Tudor sovereign with his Lancastrian title, and history was re-written from the Lancastrian point of view.

The extracts have been chosen mainly to illustrate the stages by which the demand for a change of ministry developed into one for a change of dynasty. As much must be omitted when an eventful period has to be compressed within the limits of a small book, many of the confused and still imperfectly understood events of the reigns of the Yorkist Kings have been passed over.

In conclusion, I would express my thanks to all (and they are many) who have kindly helped me in this book, and more especially to Mr. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, to Dr. Murray, editor of the New English Dictionary, and to the Rev. E. Boucher James, Vicar of Carisbrooke.

EDITH THOMPSON.

May, 1891.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE starting-point of the contest of York and Lancaster has been taken in the autumn of 1450, on the return of Richard of York from a semi-banishment in Ireland. The events which paved the way for him, briefly recapitulated, are these: — The marriage of King Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou, which carried with it, though not immediately, the unpopular cession of Maine, took place in 1445. In 1447 Duke Humfrey of Gloucester came to his sudden and mysterious end. His death removed the heir-presumptive to the throne, leaving that position open to contention between the Beauforts and the representative of Mortimer (Richard of York). In the autumn, Edmund Beaufort, soon to be created Duke of Somerset, was fixed upon to undertake the government of Normandy, while his rival the Duke of York had already been put off with that of Ireland. Maine was surrendered in 1448 to the French, who in the course of the next two years wrested Normandy from the English. In 1450 the King's chief minister, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was impeached, banished, and murdered at sea. Almost immediately afterwards broke out the insurrection of the Kentishmen under

Cade. This, though primarily directed towards the removal of pressing grievances, had some connexion with the dynastic question. The insurgents' complaint of the Duke of York's exclusion from the King's presence, and their demand for his recall, might point to nothing more than a change of ministry ; but their statement of grievances reveals that a design to "bring the Duke of York to be King" was attributed to them ; and it is significant that their leader was, or professed to be, connected with the family of Mortimer. Cade's insurrection was quelled, but even after his death there were renewed disturbances. It was now, while the country was still seething with discontent, that the Duke of York thought it time to come forward.

The Wars of York and Lancaster.

Character of King Henry VI.—His Piety.

Blakman. De Virtutibus et Miraculis Henrici VI. [Hearne], pp. 288-291. [Latin.]

[Composed after Henry's death, probably about 1504, and with a view to exalt him as a saint. But as great part of the account of Henry's habits must refer to his days of comparative peace, before he was tossed to and fro in civil strife, some passages from it are here placed at the beginning.]

[King Henry VI.] was as it were another Job, a simple man, and upright, wholly fearing the Lord God, and departing from evil. . . . . Never did he deal deceitfully with any one: nor did he use to utter any falsehood to anybody. He was upright and just, proceeding in all his acts by the line of justice. To none would he knowingly do an injury. And most faithfully did he render to Almighty God what was His; forasmuch as he took care in the most handsome manner completely to discharge the tithes and oblations due to God and to the Church. And this he carried out together with most religious

worship, so that he, royally robed, and crowned with the kingly diadem, made it his practice to offer to the Lord supplications as deep and humble as if he had been some young religious.*

In how many of his acts and devotions is it manifest what filial fear this prince had for the Lord! A certain reverend English bishop was wont to relate that he had for ten years discharged the office of confessor to King Henry;† but he asserted that in all that length of time no stain of mortal sin had tinged his soul. . . .

In church or oratory he never indulged himself with sitting on a seat, or, as is the custom of men of the world, walking hither and thither; but always with bared head, at least during the celebration of the divine offices, very seldom raising his royal limbs, almost continually bending his knees before his book, with eyes and hands uplifted, he earnestly sought to utter mentally the prayers, epistles, and gospels of the mass, along with the celebrant. . . . Right early, and almost at the beginning of the divine offices he was wont to be present; but yet never

* One bound by a religious vow: member of a religious order.

† William Ayscough, Clerk of the Council, consecrated Bishop of Salisbury 20 July, 1438, murdered 29 June, 1450, and John Stanbury, a Carmelite, Bishop of Bangor 1448, Bishop of Hereford 1453, were at different times confessors to King Henry. Gascoigne, a contemporary, finds great fault with Henry for having, contrary to the general practice of the kings before him, retained a bishop in court as his confessor, thereby keeping him from residing in his diocese.

was he tired by their length, although they were prolonged beyond noon.

King Henry's Colleges.

Blakman, pp. 294, 296.

When the executors of the right reverend Lord Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester,* his uncle, came to the King with a very great sum, to wit, £2,000, to be given to the King's use, and towards lightening the necessary burthens of the realm, he utterly refused the gift, nor would he in any way have it, saying, "My uncle was very dear to me, and did us much kindness while he lived: the Lord reward him. Do ye with his goods as ye are bounden; we will not take them." The executors, astonished at that royal saying, besought the King's Majesty at least to accept that gift from their hands towards the endowment of his two colleges at Cambridge † and Eton, which he might then as it were found anew. This their supplication and donation the King most willingly accepted, enjoining that, for the relief of his uncle's soul, they should confer the gift upon the colleges aforesaid; and they forthwith fulfilled the Royal mandate.‡

. . . . . .

* Henry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford. He died on the 11th April, 1447.

† King's College, founded in 1441 for a rector and twelve scholars, and dedicated to Saint Nicholas, on whose day Henry was born. It was re-founded on a much larger scale in 1443.

‡ This story is probably founded upon the fact that the Cardinal, by a codicil to his will, left £1000 to each of the colleges in question, to be disposed of at the King's discretion.

For the beginning and foundation of these two colleges, he diligently sought out everywhere the best "living stones,"*—youths well found in virtue and knowledge, and priests who should be set as doctors and tutors over the others. With respect to obtaining these priests, the King had said to him whom he employed about the business, "We had rather put up with their falling short in musical matters than in knowledge of the Scriptures." And with respect to the boys or youths, brought to him to be made scholars of, the King wished them altogether to be educated and nurtured as much in virtue as in knowledge. So when now and then he met some of them in Windsor Castle, where they sometimes went to visit acquaintances in the King's service, . . . he admonished them to follow the path of virtue, giving them along with his words also money to attract them, and saying, "Be good boys, gentle and teachable, and servants of the Lord." And if he found any of them visiting his court, he sometimes stopped them by chiding them, that they should not do that again; lest his lambkins should become acquainted with the profligate ways and doings of his courtiers, or should in part or wholly lose their own good morals, like lambs or sheep, which, grazing among brambles or thorns, tear to pieces their fleeces, and often wholly lose them.

Traits of King Henry.

Blakman, pp. 297-302.

This most pious King was not ashamed to serve as a diligent assistant to the priest celebrating before

* 1 Peter ii. 5.

him, answering to the mass, *Amen*. *Sed libera nos*,* and the like. So indeed he commonly did even to me, unworthy priest. . . . Concerning his humility in his walk [and] in his clothes, . . . from his youth up he had been accustomed to wear broad-toed shoes † and boots like a countryman. Also he had usually a long gown with a rounded hood after the manner of a burgess, and a tunic falling below the knees, shoes, boots, hose, everything of a dark grey colour ‡—for he would have nothing fanciful.

Moreover, on the principal feasts of the year, but chiefly when by custom he should wear his crown, he would put on next his skin a rough hair-shirt, . . . in order to keep down all arrogance or vain-glory, to which such occasions are likely to give rise.

Concerning the occupation of the King, . . . it is known to very many now living that he was wont to dedicate holy days and Sundays wholly to hearing

* The response in the Pater Noster—"But deliver us [from evil]."

† In opposition to the absurdly long and pointed toes in fashion during the later part of his reign. So, further on, the length of King Henry's gown and tunic is insisted upon evidently in opposition to the short and scanty tunic or jacket, displaying hose fitting like a glove, which was affected by the dandies of the period. The hood was going out of fashion altogether, except as a part of official dress.

‡ Or the colour of undyed wool; *beige*. This must be understood of Henry's every-day dress, as on occasion he wore a blue velvet gown.

the divine offices, and to devout prayers on his part for himself and his people, "lest the adversaries should mock at his Sabbaths."* And he also diligently endeavoured to induce others to do the like. But the other less holy days . . . he spent, not less diligently, either in treating of the affairs of the realm with his Council, according as the necessity of the case demanded, or in readings of the Scriptures, or in perusing writings and chronicles. Concerning which, a certain worthy knight, once a right faithful chamberlain of his, Sir Richard Tunstall,† bore verbal and written testimony, saying, "In the law of the Lord was his delight day and night." Evidence to the same effect is afforded by the bitter complaint which the Lord King himself made to me in his chamber at Eltham, when I was there alone with him working with him in his holy books, intent upon wholesome admonitions and devout aspirations:—a certain most powerful Duke of the realm having just then knocked at the royal door, the King said, "So do they disturb me, that scarce am I able by snatches, day or night, to refresh myself with the reading of the sacred dogmata, without somebody

* Lamentations i. 7. In mediæval compositions designed for edification, Scriptural phrases were continually brought in, not to say dragged in, much after the manner of books by Puritans or Methodists in later days.

† Tunstall followed his master in his wanderings after the battle of Towton, and on the occasion of Henry's capture made a gallant and for the moment successful fight in his defence. After this, he held out in Harlech Castle till 1468.

making a noise."*

It was his wont to use no oaths to confirm the truth of his sayings, except by uttering these words, "Forsooth, and forsooth,"† that he might make those to whom he spoke certain of what he said. Wherefore, sometimes by gently advising, sometimes by severely chiding, he restrained very many, magnates as well as commons, from great oaths; since every one who swore was abominable to him. For the King, hearing a certain great lord, his chamberlain, thoughtlessly break out swearing, seriously reproved him, saying "Alas! while you, the master of a household, thus, contrary to God's command, rap out oaths, you set the worst example to your servants and subjects, for you incite them to do the like."‡

* This illustrates the Shaksperian story (the germ of which is in Hall's *Chronicle*) of Richard of Gloucester, at a crisis of his political fortune, pretending to be roused with difficulty from his pious meditations in company of two bishops (*K. Rich. III.*, A. III. Sc. vii.). The story may be an invention as regards Richard, but it is in harmony with the manners of a really or professedly devout man in those days.

† Given by Blakman in English.

‡ Swearing with a fantastic ingenuity of irreverence was one of the vices of the age. Gascoigne, under the year 1457, mentions the outbreak of a strange disease, in which men died of hæmorrhage, and regards it as an appropriate judgment upon them for their habit of swearing "by Christ's blood" and other like oaths.

c. **1458.—Abuses in the Church—non-residence and appropriation.***

Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatum, ed. Thorold Rogers, pp., 3, 5, 6, 197. [Latin—somewhat abridged.]

[The great evil arising from appropriation was that the tithes and other ecclesiastical dues of the appropriated benefice might go away to some distant monastery or college, only the cheapest and most scanty provision for the spiritual wants of the parish and repair of the fabric of the church being made in return. Statutes had at different times been passed to constrain the appropriators to do to some extent their duty by the parishes; but Gascoigne's complaints show that the evils of the system were still great.]

Some seldom or never reside in their cures, and he to whom a church is appropriated, and who resides not in it, once a year comes to his cure, or sends to the church, at the end of autumn; and having filled his purse with money, and sold his tithes, goes away again far from his cure to the court in which he occupies himself in gain-getting and pleasures. . . For now in England the cure of souls has perished by the appropriation of churches, and by non-residence of curates and prelates, and by promotion of unworthy men, and by pluralities of benefices or malefices,† and by most wicked collation to scholastic degree and concession of graces ‡ to unworthy and

* *Appropriation*, the annexing of some ecclesiastical benefice to the proper and perpetual use of some ecclesiastical corporation, religious or secular.

† A play upon the primary meaning of *benefice* as a good deed, or kindness. The benefices are no longer *beneficial*, but harmful, *maleficial*.

‡ "Graces, *i.e.*, their dispensations, or licences for scholastic degrees."—*Gascoigne*, p. 208.

vicious and ignorant persons in Oxford and other places for study. . .

If any man would found a college to the augmentation of knowledge, virtues, and learning, or for men devoted to religion, let him see that he so found them out of his own goods, not by appropriating parish churches to them.

. . . Lately an earl destroyed a great church and parish in that he appropriated the property due to the rector of that church to an abbey, with the intention that every year they may celebrate exequies and a mass for his soul: and those wealthy religious, being richly endowed by the earl, bless him; and the parishioners of that appropriated church, and the souls perishing for lack of a good curate, curse him; and the widows weep and lament, and their tears before God purchase punishment for the earl, . . because by his act and by that appropriation a good pastor and rector is lacking to them, and fair maintenance and hospitality in the parish, and the preaching of God's Word, and wholesome and necessary counsel for the health of souls. . . .

It is known that many infants die without baptism because the parish churches have not fonts, and divers abbeys have licence and custom that all belonging to certain parishes are to baptize in their minsters, and yet they cannot conveniently at night, or at other times, come to the font there. Also the Cistercian monks have by privilege or licence of the the Pope the tithes of certain fields; and now this licence is so extended and abused that in certain

parishes the curate has hardly anything from the parish to live upon; and almost all the monks in some places are great merchants and have many private goods in laymen's hands, and they do not permit the curates to take tithes from them; and so "blood hath touched blood," Hosea iv., *i.e.*, one sin has led to other sins, to the great hurt of souls.

c. 1449.—Abuses in the Church—promotion of unworthy men.

Pecock, Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. Vol. II., pt. iii., ch. viii., p. 331. [English.]

[Bishop Pecock wrote as a defender of the clergy and the existing ecclesiastical system, so that his admission of the existence of abuses has the more weight.]

Let only good men and well-proved men in virtues be taken into priesthood and into prelacy, wherein be rich possessions; and without doubt much more good shall come by the having of those rich possessions, than should come if they were not had.* But all the cause, why evil cometh from and by those rich possessions had in prelacy, is for that virtuous men and well-proved men in learning and in living be not chosen and taken into prelacies; but somewhile children, somewhile men wantonly brought up in court, somewhile unlearned men for their great blood and their high birth; yea, unto the damnation of them which so choose and take, as it is full much to dread.

* This is in answer to the Lollards, who objected to the endowment of the clergy.

Enmity between the Dukes of York and of Somerset.

Whethamstede, Rolls series, vol. I., pp. 159-161. [Latin—somewhat abridged.]

[Richard Plantagenet, probably born about 1410, was the son of Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in 1415 for conspiring against Henry V. Though the father's honours were forfeited, the son was permitted to succeed to the estates and titles of his uncles Edward, Duke of York, and Edmund, Earl of March. In 1436 he held for not quite a year the office of Lieutenant-governor of France; the five years' appointment mentioned below dated from July 2, 1440. Edmund Beaufort, Earl and afterwards Duke of Somerset, was, after the fall of the Duke of Suffolk, chief in power with the King.]

A short time ago, whilst the Duchy of Normandy was still under the King's sway, . . it happened that after the death of the illustrious (and truly illustrious) Prince, Lord John, Duke of Bedford,* who for a long time had borne rule there, the King, by the advice of his Council, sent thither the Lord Duke of York, his near kinsman, and committed to him the government of that country for a period of five years, and assigned to him a fitting stipend for his soldiers.

But the five years' term being ended, and the people during that period having been governed tranquilly, peaceably, and with justice, the Duke returned again to the realm,† and received thanks from various persons on account of his steady, sober, and considerate government. Therefore, it being time for the King

* Bedford died Sept. 14, 1435.

† In 1445; but he retained the title of Lieutenant-governor of France as late as November, 1447.

to make provision and disposition for the keeping and government of that country [Normandy], by the suasion and persuasion of his discreet Council, he consented again to send there the afore-mentioned Duke, as the most approved and fit lord; and he agreed with him for another five years, during which time it pleased him to assign the rule of that country.

Which the Duke of Somerset hearing, and conjecturing that not only no small profit,* but also honour, would accrue from that government, he so craftily and cunningly and subtly pressed upon the King that at length, with the Duke of Suffolk's aid, he revoked and made void the whole appointment which he had previously made with the Lord Duke of York, and committed and assigned to him [Somerset] the rule of that country. The Lord Duke of York, having been apprised of what had been done, and of his being supplanted in so crafty, cunning, ill-bred, and ungentlemanlike a manner, waxed so fiery-hot with anger, and so fiercely kindled the spark of wrath in the furnace of his breast, that at length from a spark it became a torch, and from a torch a blazing fire, so great that neither by dew nor water, neither by snow nor hail, nor by any other liquid, whether material or mystic, could it be other-

* Greed of gain is said by the contemporary Norman historian Basin to have been the besetting sin which marred all Somerset's good qualities. In the formal accusation brought against him in 1452 by the Duke of York, Somerset is charged with various kinds of malversation and peculation in his government of Normandy. See Mr. Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, Vol. I., *Introduct.*, pp. lxxvii.—lxxx.

wise extinguished than by his completely revenging himself upon the supplanter, and making him suffer condign punishment in return for those injuries which he, churlishly enough, was inflicting upon him. For the said supplanter had proceeded against him of set purpose; and therefore he glowed the more with anger, and was the more loth to forgive him. For that which is committed out of levity easily obtains pardon; but what is done of set purpose sticks more strongly, and wins forgiveness with far more difficulty. Besides, noblemen, and especially the magnates or greater lords, believe it to be the part of a man of spirit to take revenge for injuries, and never to forget them. For they heed not that which is written in Deuteronomy:—"Vengeance is mine, and I will repay them."

1450.—Sept. The Duke of York comes over from Ireland.

Chron. ed. Giles, pt. iv., p. 42. [Latin.]

[In July, 1447, the Duke of York had been appointed Lieutenant of Ireland. His friends regarded this as a banishment. Learning, as he averred, that his enemies were labouring "to have me indicted of treason," he now returned without leave.]

In the same year, . . . Richard Duke of York came out of Ireland; but the King, fearing his coming when there was such a perturbation of his lieges in the realm,* purposed to hinder his progress

* Cade's insurrection, and subsequent troubles.

from the port.* But it happened that he landed elsewhere in Wales; and at length, with a notable multitude, he arrived in the city of London and the presence of the King, affirming that the reason of his coming was that he might tender to the King protection against his traitors and rebels. But the King did not give him at all cordial thanks; on the contrary, he said, "When need requires, or necessity compels, we will call upon your help."

[The following hostile account is taken from the Act of Attainder passed in 1459 against the Duke of York and his adherents. In the form of an address to the King, this Act recounts all the instances of ingratitude and disloyalty on the Duke's part.]

Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. V., p. 346. [English.]

And within short time after [Cade's insurrection] he [Richard of York] came out of Ireland with great bobaunce † and inordinate people, to your Palace of Westminster unto your presence, with great multitude of people harnessed and arrayed in manner of war, and there bet ‡ down the speres § and walls in your Chamber, having no consideration to your high presence; by the which might be understood his disposition; at which time he was answered by You to his desires and demands, that it seemed to all your true subjects, that the spirit of wisdom of God was

* The Duke intended to land at Beaumaris, but was stopped by the King's officers there. See the *Paston Letters*, I., p. lx. [Gairdner.]

† Pride, or pomp.

‡ Beat. This form survives in North-country dialect.

§ Spars, beams, rafters.

in You: And he, so answered, departed from You then confused, and your true Liege people that heard thereof it greatly rejoiced.

[For the formal complaint which appears to have been presented by York, for his subsequent petition for the punishment of traitors, and for the answers returned by the King, see the *Paston Letters* [Gairdner], I., pp. lx.—lxiii; pp. 153, 154. A Parliament was summoned to meet on the the 6th Nov., 1450.]

1450, Dec. 2.—Arrest of and attack upon the Duke of Somerset.

Gregory's Chronicle, pp. 195, 196. [English.]

[Somerset, ever in favour at Court, had on Sept. 11 been appointed Constable of England. But in Parliament York had the upper hand, and his influence availed to obtain the arrest of Somerset).

And that same year, the 2nd day of December, the Duke of Somerset was attached* in the Friar Preachers† at London. And that day he was robbed of all his goods,‡ and his jewels were taken and borne away by lords' mayny.§ And in the morrow they despoiled the places and lodgings of many divers lords, and they bare away all the goods

* Arrested.

† The Black Friars' house.

‡ The annalist William Worcester says, p. 769:—"That day Somerset was near being slain, but escaped in the Earl of Devon's barge upon the Thames." Thomas Courtenay, 5th Earl of Devon, had married Somerset's sister Margaret.

§ *Mayny*, *meynee*, household, retinue. The anonymous Latin Chronicle edited by Dr. Giles intimates that this outrage was committed by the followers of the Dukes of York and of Norfolk.

that were within them, that is to say, Sir Thomas Todenham,* then being wardrober, Sir Thomas Hoo the Lord Hastings, sometime the Chamberlain of Normandy.†

And the same day was a man of the foresaid fellowship,‡ the which was at the spoiling and robbing of the Friar Preachers, beheaded at the Standard in Cheap,§ for to be an example unto all other; but it was never the better, for it caused much the more heart-burning against the Duke [of Somerset] and the lords before said.

And that same day, the afternoon, the Duke of York rode thorough London. And he made to be cried in divers places that what manner a man‖ that robbed or rifled any person should have as hastily justice as the said man had. And upon Thursday next following [Dec. 3rd] the King came from Westminster, riding thorough London; and with the Duke of York, and the most deal¶ in substance of all the lords in this land, with their retinues of fencible men; which was a gay and a glorious sight if it had been in France, but not in England, for it bolded some men's hearts that it caused after many men's death. Where was or is the default I wot not.

* Or Tuldenham, of Oxburgh, a powerful man in Norfolk, and much hated, as the Paston Letters show. He was beheaded in 1462.

† Baron of Hoo and of Hastings. He died about 1453.

‡ Company, band, association. § Cheapside.

‖ Whatever sort or kind of man.

¶ The most part.

1450-1.—Renewed ascendancy of Somerset.

W. Worcester, Annals, Rolls series, p. 770. [Latin.]

The King kept Christmas at Greenwich. . . . After the said feast the Lord Duke of Somerset was made captain of the town of Calais, and was taken into the utmost confidence by the Lord King, to such a degree that he governed everything, both inside and outside the Royal household.

1450-1.—Proceedings in Parliament.

W. Worcester, Annals, p. 770. [Latin.]

In the Parliament aforesaid, a petition was made to the Lord King by the Commons for the removal of certain persons* from about the King. But nothing came of it†. . . . In the same Parliament Thomas Yonge Brystall, apprentice-in-law,‡ moved that, as the King hitherto had not had offspring, it would be a security to the realm that it should be openly established who was heir-apparent. And he named the Duke of York. For which cause the same Thomas was afterwards committed to the Tower of London.§

Chronicle of London, p. 137. [English.]

Then soon after was called and sat a Parliament,

* Edmund Duke of Somerset and several others, for whose names see *Rot. Parl.*, V. 216.

† The King refused to dismiss any of the Lords named, and reserved the right of retaining others who were personal attendants of his; but he consented to the removal of the rest for a year.

‡ *I.e.*, Thomas Yonge, member for Bristol, barrister.

§ See *Rot. Parl.*, V. 337, for Thomas Yonge's petition to the Commons in 1455 praying for compensation for his arbitrary imprisonment.

wherein all the Commons were agreed, and rightfully elect him [Richard of York] as heir-apparent of England, nought to proceed in any other matters till that were granted by the Lords ; whereto the King and Lords would not consent nor grant, but anon* brake up the Parliament.

[This statement is probably exaggerated ; at least William Worcester gives no idea that Yonge's proposal met with such general support.]

1451.—The Management of Juries.

Letter, May 2, *to John Paston.* Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, vol. I., No. 155, pp. 207, 208. [English.]

[John Paston, a gentleman of Norfolk, was bringing actions against Robert Hungerford, Lord Molynes, and his agents, for expelling him from his, Paston's, manor of Gresham, turning his wife out of doors, and pillaging his house. The case was to be heard at Walsingham.]

Master Paston, we commend us to you, letting you wit that the Sheriff is nought so whole as he was, for now he will show but a part of his friendship. And also there is great press of people,† and few friends, as far as we can feel it. And therefore be ye sadly advised‡ whether ye seem best to come yourself, or send, or, &c., for we will assay inasmuch as is in us to prevail to your intent. And yet, if it needed, we

* At once, forthwith.

† At the sessions of *oyer and terminer* at Walsingham, Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon, against whom there were numerous complaints, came with a body of over 400 horse, besides mustering all their friends and partisans ; so that not a single complainant, except John Paston, ventured to appear.

‡ Consider seriously.

would have a man to give us information, or show evidence after the case requireth.* Also the Sheriff informed us that he hath writing from the King that he shall make such a panel to acquit the Lord Molynes.† And also he told us, and as far as we can conceive and feel, the Sheriff will panel gentlemen to acquit the Lord, and jurors to acquit his men; and we suppose that it is by the motion and means of the other party. And if any means of treaty be proffered, we know not what mean should be to your pleasure. And therefore we would fain have more knowledge, if you think it were to do.‡

No more at this time, but the holy Trinity have you in his keeping. Written at Walsingham, in haste, the second day of May.

By your true and faithful friends,

DEBENHAM, TYMPERLEY, AND WHITE.

[Lord Molynes was acquitted, but he seems nevertheless to have offered to pay compensation, no doubt because it was thought that Paston would succeed in getting a verdict against the lord's agents.]

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* According as the case requires.

† Royal letters of this kind seem to have been easily obtainable; Paston himself is reported to have said that such a one could be procured for 6s. 8d. The real pressure upon the Sheriff was that, as he at last owned, "the Lord Molynes is a great lord" who could easily do him a hurt. But the Royal letter served as an excuse for yielding to pressure.

‡ That is, in the event of the other side offering to compromise, the writers want directions as to what they may accept.

1452, Feb.—York takes up arms. Pacification at Blackheath, March 1.

"Short English Chronicle" in Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. N.S., xxviii. p. 69.

[In the course of 1451 the French were allowed to make themselves masters of Guienne and Gascony; and even Calais was in danger. The Duke of Somerset was in consequence more unpopular than ever. The Duke of York, who had for some time kept quiet in his castle of Ludlow, now began to stir. In February, 1452, after announcing that, for the defence of the national interests and his own, he was about to take up arms against Somerset, he mustered his friends and followers, and marched for London. But his request to be allowed to enter the City being refused, he crossed the Thames at Kingston Bridge, and proceeded to Dartford.]

This year Richard Duke of York came out of Wales by Kingston bridge unto the Black Heath* with a great power† to clear himself against King Henry of all manner [of] points that the King was his heavy lord for.‡ And the King came riding thorough London with a royal power against the said Duke. And there the Lords both spiritual and temporal took the matter in hand and entreated them of rest and peace; the which the said Duke at last agreed to on this condition, that his petitions for the

* More accurately, to Brent Heath, a mile from Dartford. The King's army took up a position on Blackheath, between the Duke and London.

† Armed forces, army.

‡ "To be one's good lord" or "one's heavy lord," as the case might be, were usual expressions for treating a subject or dependant with favour or the contrary.

weal of the King and the realm might be had* and his enemies to the Tower to abide the law;† and so were the Lords agreed and sworn each to other. Anon the Duke sent home his men again, and himself meekly obeyed the King at the Black Heath,‡ and his adversaries§ stood present contrary [to] the appointment and oaths. And so they brought him thorough London ungirt between two bishops to his own place, and after that made him sworn on the sacrament at Paul's after their intent, and put him from his good petitions.

[After having been thus constrained to swear fealty and to bind himself never again to levy private war, except "in my lawful defence," the Duke of York was allowed to withdraw to his castle of Wigmore. On Good Friday, April 7, the King issued a general pardon.]

1453 ?—The Queen's visit to Norwich.

Margaret Paston‖ *to John Paston*, April 20. *Gairdner*, vol. I., No. 187, pp. 253-4; *Fenn*, I., 68-71. [English.]

Right worshipful husband, I recommend me to you. . . .

* Might be received, taken into consideration

† It was probably now that he laid before the King his formal accusation against Somerset, for which see *Paston Letters* [Gairdner], I., pp. lxxvii.—lxxx.

‡ He presented himself "ungirt"—without his belt, as was the manner of a vassal doing homage—and bare-headed, and bowed himself to the ground before the King. See *Whethamstede*, I., 162.

§ Chief among them Somerset, who had either never been placed in custody or else had been set at large.

‖ Daughter and heiress of John Mauteby, Esq., of Mauteby in Norfolk, and wife of John Paston, whom she married about 1440.

As for tidings, the Queen* came into this town on Tuesday last past after noon, and abode here till it was Thursday, three after noon; and she sent after my cousin Elizabeth Clere,† by‡ Sharinborn, to come to her; and she durst not disobey her commandment, and came to her. And when she came in the Queen's presence, the Queen made right much of her, and desired her to have an husband, the which ye shall know of hereafter. But as for that, he is never nearer than he was before.

The Queen was right well pleased with her answer, and reporteth of her in the best wise, and saith, by her troth, she saw no gentlewoman since she came into Norfolk that she liked better than she doth her.

. . . . . .

I pray you that you will do your cost on me against Whitsuntide, that I may have something for my neck. When the Queen was here, I borrowed my cousin Elizabeth Clere's device,§ for I durst not for shame go with my beads among so many fresh gentlewomen as here were at that time. The blessed Trinity have you in his keeping.

Written at Norwich on the Friday next before Saint George.

By yours,

M. PASTON.

* Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier or René, Duke of Anjou, Bar, and Lorraine, and nominal King of Sicily. Born March 23, 1429; married Henry VI. of England April 22, 1445.

† Widow of Robert Clere, Esq., of Ormesby, who died in 1446 [Gairdner].

‡ Near.

§ Some kind of ornament.

1453-1454.—How King Henry lost his wits, and what followed.

Chron. ed. Giles, pt. iv., pp. 44, 45. [Latin.]

[On July 17, 1453, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who had well-nigh regained Guienne and Gascony, was overthrown and slain by the French at Castillon, and the final loss of Guienne and Gascony followed. These calamities added to Somerset's load of unpopularity.]

When, about the Feast of the Translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr,* the King had gone to Clarendon, he fell by a sudden and accidental fright into such a weak state of health that for a whole year and a half he had neither natural sense nor reason capable of carrying on the government; and neither physician nor medicine could cure that infirmity. And in the mean time, to wit on the Feast of the Translation of Saint Edward [Oct. 13], Edward his son, the Prince, was born. . . And for that the King had not reason or power to rule the realm, all the nobles of the realm chose Richard Duke of York to be chief regent of England.† And shortly afterwards the Duke of Norfolk‡ began persistently to accuse the

* July 7. A MS. quoted by Mr. Gairdner (*Paston Letters*, vol. I., p. xcvii.) gives Saint Lawrence's Day (Aug. 10) as the date of the beginning of the King's illness.

† A commission was granted to him to act as "the King's Lieutenant" on the re-assembling of Parliament, Feb. 14, 1454; and on March 27 the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled chose him to be "Protector and Defender of the Realm." The name of Regent was expressly denied him. See *Rot. Parl.* V. 239-242.

‡ John Mowbray, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, who was connected with the Duke of York through the great Northern house of Nevill.

Duke of Somerset in many articles concerning the betrayal of Normandy and the other dominions in the parts of France; wherein also the other temporal lords were so favourable to the Duke of Norfolk, that the Chancellor of England* could not pacify them until he sent the Duke of Somerset prisoner to the Tower of London,† where he remained for a year, although without cause alleged of any crime committed against the King or the realm, which the judges or justiciars of the realm could try. But meantime John Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of the realm, because he would not in aught turn aside from the truth, was so threatened by some lords, and especially by the Duke of Norfolk, that he rather chose to die than to live in death.‡

1454, Jan. 19.—A Letter of News.

Letter from John Stodeley, in London. Archæologia, 1842, vol. XXIX., pp. 307-10; *Gairdner's Paston Letters*, vol. I., No. 195, pp. 263-68. [English.]

[The writer probably belonged to the Duke of Norfolk's household].

As touching tidings, please it you to wit that at

* John Kemp, Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury (previously of York). He was a good and faithful minister of the King, but Gascoigne finds great fault with him as a churchman for his neglect of his diocese of York.

† This seems to have been in December, 1453. A "bill" or petition signed by Norfolk, demanding an inquiry into Somerset's conduct, will be found in the Paston Letters [Gairdner, vol. I., No. 191, pp. 259–261].

‡ He did actually die on the 22nd of March, aged about seventy-four.

the Prince's* coming to Windsor, the Duke of Buckingham† took him in his arms and presented him to the King in goodly wise, beseeching the King to bless him; and the King gave no manner answer. Natheless the Duke abode still with the Prince by the King; and when he could no manner answer have, the Queen came in, and took the Prince in her arms and presented him in like form as the Duke had done, desiring that he should bless it; but all their labour was in vain, for they departed thence without any answer or countenance, saving only that once he looked on the Prince and cast down his eyes again, without any more.

Item, the Cardinal‡ hath charged and commanded all his servants to be ready with bow and arrows, sword and buckler, crossbows, and all other habiliments of war, such as they can meddle with, to await upon the safeguard of his person.

. . . . . .

Item, the Queen hath made a bill of five articles, desiring those articles to be granted; whereof the first is, that she desireth to have the whole rule of this land;§ the second is, that she may make the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Privy Seal, and all other officers of this land, with sheriffs and all other officers

* The King's infant son.

† Humfrey Stafford, succeeded as Earl of Stafford, 1403; created Duke of Buckingham, 1444; slain at the battle of Northampton, 1460.

‡ Archbishop Kemp, mentioned further on as Chancellor.

§ This was before the appointment of the Duke of York.

that the King should make; the third is, that she may give all the bishoprics of this land, and all other benefices belonging to the King's gift; the fourth is that she may have sufficient livelode * assigned her for the King and the Prince and herself. But as for the fifth article, I cannot yet know what it is.

Item, the Duke of York will be at London justly on Friday next coming [Jan. 25] at night, as his own men tell for certain, and he will come with his household meynee, cleanly beseen † and likely men. And th' Earl of March ‡ cometh with him, but he will have another fellowship of good men that shall be at London before him . . .; and such jacks,§ salets,‖ and other harness as his meynee shall have, shall come to London with them, or before them in carts. The Earl of Salisbury¶ will be at London on Monday [Jan. 21] or Tuesday next coming with seven-score knights and squires, beside other meynee. The

* Lands or rents from which an income was derived [Gairdner].

† Well appointed.

‡ Richard of York's eldest surviving son, afterwards King Edward IV. He was at this time not full twelve years old.

§ Coats of plate, or of padded leather lined with linen.

‖ *Salet*, a kind of light helmet.

¶ Richard Nevill, a younger son of Ralf, 1st Earl of Westmoreland; born 1399; married Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas Montacute, 4th Earl of Salisbury; and was himself made Earl of Salisbury, 1442. He and the Duke of York were brothers-in-law, the latter having married Salisbury's sister Cecily.

Earls of Warwick,* Richmond,† and Pembroke‡ come with the Duke of York, as it is said, each of them with a goodly fellowship. And natheless th' Earl of Warwick will have a thousand men awaiting on him beside the fellowship that cometh with him, as far as I can know. And as Geoffrey Pole saith, the King's brethren be like to be arrested at their coming to London, if they come.

. . . . . .

The Duke of Somerset hath spies going in every Lord's house of this land§; some gone as friars, some as shipmen taken on the sea, and some in other wise; which report unto him all that they can see or hear touching the said Duke. And therefore make good watch, and beware of such spies.

. . . . . .

The mayor‖ and merchants of London, and the

* The Earl of Salisbury's eldest son, Richard Nevill, born 1428. Having married Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, 5th Earl of Warwick, and heiress of the Beauchamps, he was made Earl of Warwick, 1449.

† Edmund Tudor of Hadham, the King's half-brother, created Earl of Richmond, 1452; died 1456. His posthumous son was afterwards King Henry VII.

‡ Jasper Tudor of Hatfield, Edmund's younger brother, created Earl of Pembroke, 1453, and Duke of Bedford, 1485; died 1495.

§ One is reminded of Shakspere's Macbeth :—

> "There's not a one of them, but in his house
> I keep a servant fee'd."

‖ John Norman.

mayor and merchants of the staple of Calais* were with the Chancellor on Monday last passed [Jan. 14] at Lambeth, and complained on the Lord Bonvile† for taking of the ships and goods of the Flemings and other of the Duke of Burgundy's Lordships, and the Chancellor gave them none answer to their pleasing; wherefore the substance of them with one voice cried aloud, "Justice, justice, justice!" whereof the Chancellor was so dismayed that he could nor might no more say to them for fear.

1454-5.—The King's recovery.

Edmund Clere to John Paston, Jan. 9. *Gairdner*, vol. I.] No. 226, pp. 315, 316; *Fenn*, I., 80. [English].

To my well-beloved cousin, John Paston, be this delivered.

Right well-beloved cousin, I recommend me to you, letting you wit such tidings as we have.

Blessed be God, the King is well amended, and hath been since Christmas Day, and on Saint John's Day [Dec. 27] commanded his almoner to ride to Canterbury with his offering, and commanded the secretary to offer at Saint Edward's.‡

And on the Monday afternoon [Dec. 30] the Queen came to him, and brought my Lord Prince with

* "The staple, that is to say, the grand mart for the principal commodities or manufactures of the kingdom, formerly held by act of parliament in certain trading towns." *Blackstone, Commentaries* [ed. 1830] Bk. II., ch. x., p. 160. All wool, leather, skins, and lead ("merchandises of the staple") for exportation had by law to be brought to the staple at Calais.

† William, Baron Bonvile of Chuton, K.G., who had served with distinction in the French wars. He was beheaded in 1460.

‡ Edward the Confessor's shrine in Westminster Abbey.

her. And then he asked what the Prince's name was, and the Queen told him Edward; and then he held up his hands and thanked God thereof. And he said he never knew till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been whilst he hath been sick, till now. And he asked who was* godfathers,† and the Queen told him, and he was well apaid.‡ And she told him that the Cardinal was dead, and he said he knew never thereof till that time; and he said one of the wisest Lords in this land was dead.

And my Lord of Winchester§ and my Lord of Saint John's‖ were with him on the morrow after Twelfth Day,¶ and he spake to them as well as ever he did; and when they came out they wept for joy.

And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would all the Lords were. And now he saith matins of Our Lady and evensong, and heareth his Mass devoutly; . . .

. . . . . .

Written at Greenwich on Thursday after Twelfth Day.

By your cousin,

EDMUND CLERE.

[The King's recovery put an end to the Duke of York's Protectorate. Somerset was released on the 5th Feb.]

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* *Was* then was frequently used in the plural.

† The godfathers were the Cardinal Archbishop Kemp and the Duke of Somerset.

‡ Satisfied.

§ William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. Died 1486.

‖ Robert Botyll, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

¶ *I.e.*, on the 7th Jan.

1455.—May 21-22. Battle of St. Albans.

Contemporary paper, in Archæologia, vol. XX., pp. 519-523; *Gairdner's Paston Letters*, Vol. I, No. 239, pp. 327-31. [English.]

[Richard of York, finding himself deprived of all power and influence, and in a fair way to succeed to his rival's prison, betook himself to the North-country, where, in conjunction with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, he collected forces, and thence marched for London. At Saint Albans the Yorkists found their way into the town barred by the King with his army.]

Be it known and had in mind that the 21st day of May the 33rd year of the reign of King Harry the Sixth, our sovereign Lord King took his journey from Westminster toward Saint Albans, and rested at Watford all night; and on the morrow betimes he came to Saint Albans, and with him on his party assembled under his banner the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Northumberland,* the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Stafford,† the Earl of Dorset,‡ the Earl of Wiltshire,§ the Lord Clifford,‖ the Lord Dudley,¶ the Lord Burneys [Berners?**], the Lord

* Henry Percy, 2nd Earl, only son of Hotspur.

† Humfrey, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham.

‡ Henry Beaufort, eldest son of the Duke of Somerset.

§ James Butler, created Earl of Wiltshire 1449; succeeded his father as Earl of Ormonde, 1452; held the office of Treasurer in 1455 and 1458; beheaded at Newcastle 1461.

‖ Thomas, Lord Clifford and Westmoreland, born 1415.

¶ Sir John Sutton of Dudley, 4th Baron of Dudley, K.G.; died 1487.

** Sir John Bourchier, 4th son of William, Earl of Eu, and married to the heiress of Berners.

Roos, * with other diverse knights, squires, and other gentlemen and yeomen to the number of 2000 and more. And upon the 22nd day of the said month above rehearsed assembled the Duke of York, and with him came in company the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, with diverse knights and squires unto their party, into the field called the Key Field, beside Saint Albans. Furthermore our said sovereign Lord the King, hearing and knowing of the said Duke's coming with other lords aforesaid, pitched his banner at the place called Boslawe in Saint Peter's Street (which place was called aforetimepast Sandford), and commanded the ward and barriers to be kept in strong wise; the foresaid Duke of York abiding in the field aforesaid from seven of the clock in the morn till it was almost ten without any stroke smitten on either party. . . .

[After unavailing negotiations, the Yorkists assaulted the town.]

. . . The said Duke of York, and the said Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Warwick, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, they broke into the town in three diverse places and several places of the foresaid street.† The King being then in the place

* Thomas, 10th Baron Ros or Roos; born 1427, died 1461.

† Another account says:—"Sir Robert Ocle took 600 men of the Marches, and took the Market-place ere any man was [a] ware; then the 'larum bell was rung, and every man yed [*i.e*, went] to harness, for at that time every man was out of their array, and they joined battle anon; and it was done within half [an] hour."—*Gairdner's Paston Letters*, vol. I., No. 240, p. 332.

of Edmund Westley, hunderdere * of the said town of Saint Albans, commandeth to slay all manner men of lords, knights, and squires, and yeomen that might be taken of the foresaid Duke's of York. This done, the foresaid Lord Clifford kept strongly the barriers that the said Duke of York might not in any wise, with all the power that he had, enter nor break into the town. The Earl of Warwick, knowing thereof, took and gathered his men together and fiercely brake in by the garden sides, between the sign of the Key and the sign of the Chequer in Holywell Street; and anon as they were within the town, suddenly they blew up trumpets, and set a cry with a shout and a great voice, "A Warwick! A Warwick! A Warwick!" and unto that time the Duke of York might never have entered into the town; and they with strong hand kept it, and mightily fought together, and anon, forthwith after the breaking in, they set on them manfully. And as of lords of name were slain the Lord Clifford, the Duke of Somerset,† the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Bertram

*"**Hundredors**, men of a hundred; persons serving on juries, or fit to be empanneled thereon for trials, dwelling within the hundred where the cause of action arose."—*Wharton's Law-Lexicon.*

† The English Chronicle edited by Davies tells a story (p. 72) that it had been prophesied to Somerset that he should die under a castle, and that consequently he did all in his power to hinder the King from going to Windsor Castle; but the prophecy was fulfilled by Somerset's being slain before a hostelry having the sign of a castle. The Burgundian chronicler J. du Clercq gives a report that Somerset fell by York's own hand.

Entwistle, Knight; and of men of court, William Zouch, [ten other names follow]. . . And of them that be slain be buried in Saint Albans forty-eight.* And at this same time were hurt lords of name—the King our sovereign Lord, in the neck with an arrow; the Duke of Buckingham, with an arrow in the visage; the Lord of Dudley, with an arrow in the visage; the Lord of Stafford, in the hand with an arrow;† the Lord of Dorset, sore hurt that he might not go, but he was carried home in a cart; and Wenlock,‡ Knight, in like wise in a cart sore hurt; and other diverse knights and squires sore hurt. The Earl of Wiltshire, Thorpe,§ and many other fled, and left their harness behind them cowardly, and the substance of the King's party were despoiled of horse and harness. This done, the said Lords, that is to wit, the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, came to the King our sovereign Lord,‖ and on their knees besought him of grace and forgiveness of that they had done in his presence: and besought him of

* The total of the slain is stated by one of the Paston correspondents not to have exceeded sixscore.

† The other account already cited mentions Stafford as "greatly hurt." He is usually said to have been slain in the battle.

‡ Afterwards created by Edward IV. Baron Wenlock, of Wenlock; slain on the Lancastrian side at Tewkesbury, 1471.

§ Thomas Thorpe, a Baron of the Exchequer, who was knight of the shire for Essex and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1453. He was especially obnoxious to the Duke of York.

‖ Henry had taken refuge in a poor house belonging to a tanner or currier.—*Whethamstede*, I., 169.

his Highness to take them as his true liegemen, saying that they never intended hurt to his own person: and therefore [the] King our sovereign Lord took them to grace, and so desired them to cease* their people, and that there should no more harm be done; and they obeyed his commandment, and let make a cry† in the King's name that all manner of people should cease and [be] not so hardy‡ to strike any stroke more after the proclamation of the cry; and so ceased the said battle, *Deo gratias* [thanks be to God].§

And on the morrow the King and the said Duke with other certain Lords came into the Bishop's of London,‖ and there kept residence with joy and solemnity;¶ concluding to hold the Parliament at London, the 9th day of July next coming.

[The King had now no choice but to brook the ascendancy of the victorious party. The Duke of York became Constable of England, and the Earl of Warwick was made Captain of Calais.]

* Stop, cause to cease.

† Caused a proclamation to be made.

‡ So bold or presumptuous. The phrase was common in military orders.

§ While the Duke was looking after the King, the Duke's men took the opportunity of plundering. Many of the townsmen were pillaged, and the monks of Saint Albans were in a great fright; but, after all, the Abbey was spared, "nor did it suffer, except in wine and victuals, any great expense."

‖ The Bishop's Palace, on the north-west side of Saint Paul's Churchyard.

¶ The joy of the Londoners was expressed by "a general procession." The "solemnity" was on account of Whit-Sunday, which fell that year on May 25.

1455.—Popular Feeling.

Gregory's Chron., pp. 198, 199. [English.]

And the King let all this matter be dormant a great and a long time after, as ye shall hear, for it was no season to treat of peace, for some were well-content and some evil-pleased, but at the last the people said that the Duke of Somerset was worthy to suffer that death by so much that he brought King Henry at* Clarendon beside Salisbury, and there he took his great sickness.†

1455, June 8.—The management of Parliamentary Elections.

The Duchess of Norfolk‡ *to John Paston. Gairdner*, vol. I., No. 244, p. 337; *Fenn*, vol. I., 96. [English.]

To our right trusty and well-beloved John Paston, Esquire.

The Duchess of Norfolk.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you heartily well. And forasmuch as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my Lord have at this time in Parliament such persons as 'long unto him, and be

* To

† A curious instance of the unreason of popular hate. It does not appear how taking Henry to Clarendon should have caused his brain-sickness, and it was not Somerset's interest to incapacitate the King who favoured him.

‡ Eleanor, daughter of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, and wife of John Mowbray, 3rd Duke of Norfolk.

of his menial servants,* wherein we conceive your good will and diligence shall be right expedient, we heartily desire and pray you that at the contemplation of these our letters, as our special trust is in you, ye will give and apply your voice unto our right well-beloved cousin and servants, John Howard and Sir Roger Chamberlain, to be Knights of the shire, exhorting all such other as by your wisdom shall now be behoveful, to the good exploit and conclusion of the same.

And in your faithful attendance and true devoir in this party, ye shall do unto my Lord and us a singular pleasure, and cause us hereafter to thank you therefore, as ye shall hold you right well content and agreed, with the grace of God, who have you ever in His keeping.

Written in Framlingham Castle, the 8th day of June.

1455, June 25.—On Election matters.

John Jenney to John Paston. Gairdner, vol. I., No. 250, pp. 341, 342; *Fenn*, III., 380. [English.]

To my worshipful master, John Paston, Squire.

My worshipful master, I recommend me to you;

* The reader must not be misled by the modern vulgar use of the word "menial," and suppose that the Duchess was rivalling the borough-owner of later days who threatened to send his negro footman to Parliament. A Duke's household of old resembled a King's court, and his "menial" or household servants included gentlemen of good estate. One of the "servants" proposed for election in this very letter was John Howard, who on the mother's side was a grandson of the first Duke of Norfolk, and cousin to the then Duke, and who was afterwards himself created Duke of Norfolk.

and I thank you that it pleaseth you to take such labour for me as you do. My servant told me ye desired to know what my Lord of Norfolk said to me when I spake of you; and he said inasmuch as Howard might not be,* he would write a letter to the Under-Sheriff that the shire should have free election, so that Sir Thomas Tuddenham were not [elected], nor none that was toward† the Duke of Suffolk; he said he knew ye were never to him-ward.‡ Ye may send to the Under-Sheriff, and see my Lord's letter. Howard was as wood§ as a wild bullock; God send him such worship‖ as he deserveth. It is an evil precedent for the shire that a strange man should be chosen, and no worship to my Lord of York, nor to my Lord of Norfolk to write for him; for if the gentlemen of the shire will suffer such inconvenience,¶ in good faith, the shire shall not be called of such worship as it hath been.

Written at Intwood,** this Wednesday next after Saint John, in haste.

Your servant,

JOHN JENNEY.

* Exception had been taken to Howard, on the ground that he had no land in the county. Paston's name had been put forward instead, and had been well received.

† Inclined towards; a partisan or supporter of.

‡ Never inclined towards him.

§ Mad, angry. But after all, he might have kept his temper; for, as it turned out, he was elected on the 23rd June, along with the Duke's other nominee.

‖ Honour, credit. ¶ Such an unfitting thing.

** In Norfolk.

[Parliament met July 9, 1455, and was prorogued on the 31st. Before the day of re-assembling, Nov. 12, the King was again mentally incapacitated. Richard of York was again made Protector, Nov. 17-19. See *Rot. Parl.*, V., 284-290.]

1456.—Efforts of Queen Margaret to regain ascendancy.

Gascoigne, p. 204. [Latin.]

[On the 25th Feb., 1456, the King, being restored to health, discharged the Duke of York of his office as Protector.]

After the Duke of York had been permanently appointed by the Parliament in London Protector of the realm of England, the Queen of England, Margaret, with whom England got nothing but the loss of Maine and Anjou, (which lands her husband, Henry VI., gave in perpetuity, under his Great Seal, to the Queen's father), so wrought by herself and by other lords, who were deemed evil lords to the realm, that the Duke laid down his authority which the whole Parliament in London had before granted to him; and then the Queen carried off to the place of her abode in the county of Chester both King Henry VI. and the Prince of two or three years old;* and then she herself so reigned, in the year of Christ 1456, that almost all the affairs of the realm were conducted according to the Queen's will, by fair means or foul, as was said by divers people. What

* Mr. Gairdner's Paston Letters, vol. I., pp. cxxviii, cxxix, must be consulted for the movements of the King and the Queen. In the earlier part of the year Henry remained in the south, while his wife and child went north; but by October "the Court seems to have settled itself at Coventry," occasionally moving to Chester and other towns, but keeping at a distance from London.

will be the end of these things, God wotteth, who knows all things. "God's will be done, as in heaven, so on earth."

1456.—A Yorkist Appointment to a Bishopric.

Gascoigne, pp. 16, 17. [Latin—somewhat abridged.]

[In March, 1456, the King assented to George Nevill, Archdeacon of Northampton, fourth son of the Earl of Salisbury, being promoted to the see of Exeter.]

There was recently a most sinful example set in England, when Pope Calixtus III. licensed, or dispensed, a young priest, a Master of Arts, George Nevill, that he, being then twenty-three years old or thereabouts, should have all the proceeds and revenues of the Bishopric of Exeter, and that he should retain all his other benefices, yet so that he should not be consecrated to the Bishopric of Exeter until he should have attained the twenty-seventh year of his age;* and so the Pope qualified him to be called Bishop-elect and confirmed† of Exeter, and to receive for certain years all the proceeds of the Bishopric, but not to be consecrated for four years; and thereby what poison then entered into the Anglican Church, and what a wicked example to posterity!

1457, Aug. 28.—The French attack upon Sandwich.

"*Brief Notes*" in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, pp. 152, 153. [Latin.]

On Sunday the 28th of August, about the fourth

* He had a licence to be consecrated, Nov. 30, 1458.

† The *confirmation* of a bishop is the ratification of his election.

hour in the morning, there came Frenchmen * and pirates and enemies with a great multitude, about 15,000 men, with ships, and landed at the town of Sandwich, seven miles from Canterbury. Seven thousand of them marched two or three miles into the country there, keeping and defending the aforesaid town † until the others, their companions, entered it and slew the bailiffs and ministers or rectors ‡ of the town and many other rich men in the country, and plundered the whole town of all jewels and goods found therein that whole Sunday until night, carrying them with carts and wains to their ships upon the sea; and they took off with them many rich men and wives and other women, and fled,§ leaving the aforesaid town in great poverty and misery.‖ And at the same time they took two galleys laden with divers merchandise which had been intended to go to London and to Stourbridge Fair; but the crews having been slain and cast into the sea, they carried off the galleys with them.

* Under the command of Andrew de Laval, Lord of Loheac and Marshal of France, and Piers de Brezé, Lord of La Varenne and of Brissac, Count of Maulevrier, Grand Seneschal of Anjou, Poitou, and Normandy.

† *I.e.*, guarding against its being succoured on the inland side.

‡ Probably the jurats or members of the corporation.

§ "The country came down and drove them away, and in their fleeing to ship there were drowned more than sixscore men of the French party."—*Short Eng. Chron.*, p. 71.

‖ The port had to put a tax of 4d. on every barrel of herrings to pay for the repair of the town. See Prof. Montagu Burrows' *Cinque Ports*, p. 160.

[Matthew d'Escouchy, a native of Hainault, who probably died about 1483, avers that Queen Margaret, in order to damage the Duke of York, actually instigated the French to make this descent upon the coast. There is indication of something of this kind at a later date—1460—in a letter from Brezé to Charles VII., in which he says that if Margaret's doings were known in England, both parties would join in putting her to death. See M. Quicherat's ed. of Basin, T. IV. pp. 358-60.]

1457.—Condemnation of Bishop Pecock for heresy.

Gascoigne, pp. 210-212. [Latin—abridged.]

[The order of the passages has been somewhat altered, as Gascoigne goes backwards and forwards over the same ground.]

In the year of Our Lord 1457, the realm of England was much perturbed on account of English books put forth by a Welshman, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, who at first preached in London, publicly saying at Saint Paul's Cross that bishops, in that they are bishops, are not bound to preach;* and then, after that, he fell from one abyss of evil into a greater abyss and depth of evil, finding fault with the sayings of the saints. . .

About the Feast of Saint Martin [Nov. 11] the aforesaid Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, was expelled in London from the presence and from the council-chamber of the King and of the Lords spiritual and temporal of the realm: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Thomas Bourchier,† ordering him to

* *I.e.*, their office as bishops does not lay upon them any special obligation to preach.

† Second son of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, and brother of Henry, Viscount Bourchier, afterwards created Earl of Essex.

leave; for no temporal lord there present in the great Council would give his counsel or advice, or express his views for the good of the realm, until that Bishop Pecock was out of the council-chamber. Many and great doctors in divinity, there present, demanded Pecock's books from the aforesaid Lord of Canterbury, who promised that they should have them for examination, ... and so afterwards nine of his books were brought by the same Pecock before the Archbishop. . . .

Twenty-four doctors, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of his brethren the Bishops in London, proved, to Bishop Pecock's face, many of his writings to be erroneous, and, if defended by him, heretical; and that they pledged themselves to prove, wearing their caps, before King Henry VI. Also the Bishop-elect and confirmed of Exeter, Master George Nevill, son of the Earl of Salisbury, said to the afore-mentioned Bishop, at the time of his examination, when he was in a state of excitement:—"Lord of Chichester, God by his just judgment wills you to suffer this great opprobrium, because you have unworthily found fault with, and denied the truth of, the words written by the blessed Jerome, and Saint Augustine, and the holy doctor Pope Gregory, and also of the works of other saints." And Bishop Pecock said to the Bishop-elect of Exeter:—"It repents me that I wrote thus, for I had not sufficient insight into the subjects."

For all the temporal lords of the realm who then were in London with King Henry VI. . . were very

hostile to him for divers causes; one was, because he wrote in English such profound matters, which were more adapted to harm the readers and hearers than to profit them. Also because the Bishop wrote his letter to the Mayor of London, Canning by name,* which letter the Mayor sent to the King; and it being read before the King and his lords, there was found in it evidence or indication of persuasions tending to a change of faith in the realm of England, and also to the great perturbation of the people, and in scandal of great lords of the realm, who in his letter he said agreed with him and his English books. Also, what chiefly provoked all the temporal lords to hatred of this Bishop Pecock, was that he changed our common creed which the Apostles of Our Lord Jesus Christ put forth. For Bishop Pecock wrote and said that the Apostles did not make our common creed; and by his words and writings he denied divers articles in that creed; and therefore he composed in English a new creed, a great and long one, which by the authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York† and of many other bishops was condemned at London, that it should not be held or named for a creed.

* This was in 1456. Nothing is known about this letter beyond what Gascoigne tells, but his account indicates that there was some political reason for the general determination to run down Pecock.

† William Booth, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1447; translated to York, 1452; died 1464. He was of the Lancashire and Cheshire family of Booth, whence sprang the Barons Delamere.

1457.—Nov. Abjuration of Bishop Pecock.

Whethamstede, I. 284. [Latin.]

[After repeated examinations, Archbishop Bourchier plainly gave Pecock his choice between abjuration and burning. Pecock stood for a little while in silence, and then replied:—]

"I am in a strait every way, and hesitate in despair as to which of the two courses placed before me I had better choose. For if I defend my opinions and positions, it is death to me, and burning with fire. Yet if I defend them not, the tongues of men will be busy with me, nor shall I come off without scandal. In these circumstances, better is it for me to incur the scorn of the populace than to forsake the law of faith, and to be sent after death into the Gehenna of fire and to the place of torment. Therefore I elect to make an abjuration, and intend for the future in such wise to live, that from this time forth all such proceedings against my person shall cease, nor shall any or the least suspicion attach to me for the rest of my time."

1457.—Dec. 4. Public recantation of Bishop Pecock.

Gascoigne, pp. 216-218. [Latin.]

This Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, . . . on the second Sunday of the Lord's Advent, . . . in the presence of 20,000 men, clad in his episcopal dress, at the feet of the Archbishop of Canterbury Lord Thomas Bourchier, and of Kemp, Bishop of London,* and Low, Bishop of Rochester,† doctor of

* Thomas Kemp, nephew of the late Archbishop. Died 1489.

† John Low, Bishop of Rochester 1444-1467.

divinity of Oxford, and of the Bishop of Durham,* there abjured his writings and his written conclusions, . . . and three large erroneous books of his, with eleven others in sheets, he handed to a certain man who was to commit them to a huge fire there prepared; and so was it then done in London in Saint Paul's Churchyard. And also the same Bishop Pecock said publicly, "My pride and my presumption have brought me into this evil and disgrace." After this, the Archbishop of Canterbury sent him to Maidstone to await judgment.

This Bishop Pecock, sometime a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in his writings called public preachers "pulpit-bawlers;" . . . and when he revoked his erroneous and heretical conclusions at Saint Paul's Cross, the report went, that if he himself had gone down to the fire in which his books were burning up, the people on the spot would have pitched him into that fire.

1457.—Verses upon Pecock's recantation.

Whethamstede, I., 288. [Latin.]

So they've plucked the Peacock bare,
Spoiled him of his plumage fair;
So he silence learned perforce,
For his voice was all too hoarse.
So the bird of former fame
Forfeits nów his honoured name;
Peacock was he termed in praise,

* Lawrence Booth, half-brother to the then Archbishop of York, and himself translated to York in 1476.

Owl we call him now-a-days.*
He has but himself to thank
For the loss of name and rank,
Who, presumptuous, violates
Faith's decrees and God's dictates.
Reader! if thou wouldst avert
From thee such a loss and hurt,
Forbear th' abysm to explore,
Strive not over-high to soar.
Phaëthon in midmost way
Fairly ruled the steeds of day;
Higher yet when he would rise,
Hurl'd to ruin, prone he lies.

1458, Jan. 28.- Memoranda as to affairs of the Paston Family.

"*Errands to London of Agnes Paston.*"† *Gairdner*, vol. I., No. 311, p. 422; *Fenn*, I., 142-146. [English.]

To pray Grenefeld to send me faithfully word, by writing, how Clement Paston‡ hath done his devoir§ in learning. And if he hath nought done well, nor will nought amend, pray him that he will truly belash him, till he will amend; and so did the last master, and the best that ever he had, at Cambridge. And say [to] Grenefeld that if he will take upon him to bring him into good rule and learning, that I may

* In allusion probably to a fable that the owl dressed herself up in feathers borrowed from the other birds, who afterwards wanted them back, and, on her refusal to restore them, took them from her by force.

† Widow of William Paston, Justice of the Common Pleas; and mother of John Paston. She died in 1479.

‡ The writer's youngest son, then about fifteen or sixteen.

§ Duty.

verily know he doth his devoir, I will give him ten marks* for his labour, for I had liever he were fair buried than lost for default.

Item, to see how many gowns Clement hath; and they that be bare, let them be raised.† He hath a short green gown, and a short musterdevelers‡ gown, [that] were never raised; and a short blue gown that was raised, and made of a side gown,§ when I was last at London; and a side russet gown, furred with beaver, was made this time two year; and a side murrey‖ gown was made this time twelvemonth.

Item, to do make me¶ six spoons of eight ounce of troy weight, well fashioned and double-gilt.

And say [to] Elizabeth Paston** that she must use herself to work readily, as other gentlewomen do, and somewhat to help herself therewith.

Item, to pay the Lady Pole . . . 26*s.* 8*d.* for her board.

And if Grenefeld have done well his devoir to Clement, or will do his devoir, give him the noble.††

AGNES PASTON.

* The mark was 13s. 4d.

† Let them have a new nap set upon them. [Fenn.]

‡ Kind of mixed grey woollen cloth. § A long gown.

‖ Literally, mulberry-coloured: — of the colour of brown wool.

¶ Cause to be made, get made for me.

** The writer's only daughter, to whom she had been a harsh mother, frequently beating her, though the girl was about twenty. Elizabeth, after a then usual fashion, was at this time boarded out in a good household. She soon afterwards married, and seems to have had a happier life.

†† A coin of the value of 6s. 8d.

1458.—Extract from a Lancastrian Song.

Archæologia, xxix., pp. 326-330. [English.]

[The early part of the year 1458 was marked by the King's bringing about a formal reconciliation between the contending parties, which was celebrated on Lady-Day by a procession of King, Queen, and rival nobles to Saint Paul's; "but it endured not long." The spirited song below seems to indicate a decided revival of the court party—perhaps about the time, Oct. 30, when the King re-appointed the Earl of Wiltshire as Treasurer. The poet represents King Henry under the figure of a ship, with young Prince Edward for its mast. Wiltshire is mentioned as one of the "tops" or top-castles. His running away at Saint Albans seems to have been overlooked.]

Steer well the good ship, God be our guide!
Our ship is launched from the ground,
Blessed be God, both fair and sound;
Our mariners have those shipmen found
By their tackling will abide.
This noble ship, made of good tree,*
Our sovereign lord King Henry;
God guide him from adversity,
Where that he go or ride.

The ship was charged with a mast,
Crazed it was, it might not last;†
Now hath he one that will not brast,‡

* Timber, wood.

† Sir Frederick Madden suggests that this may refer to the administration under Suffolk. But as the new mast is the boy Prince Edward, it seems more likely that the meaning of the stanza is:—Formerly we had no one to whom we could look with confidence as the King's successor; now there is an heir-apparent on whom we fix our hopes.

‡ Burst, break.

The old is laid on side.*
This fair mast, this mighty yard,
Of whom false shrews † be afeard,
His name of right is Prince Edward,
Long might he with us abide!

The ship hath closed ‡ him a light,
To keep her course in way of right,
A fire cressant,§ that burneth bright,
With fault was never spied.
This good light, that is so clear,
Call I the Duke of Exeter,
Whose name in truth shineth clear,
His worship springeth wide.

This ship hath a stern full good,
Him to guide in ebb and flood,
Against the waves both wild and wood,
That runneth on every side.
The stern that on the ship is set,
Is the Duke Somerset.‖
For ragged rocks he will not let,¶
To steer in ebb and eke in tide.

[The song continues in the same strain, naming other lords as the ship's sail, anchors, and so forth. It winds up:—]

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* Aside.

† Shrew=wicked, malignant person. ‡ Chosen?

§ A "fiery cresset," or beacon, was the badge of the Dukes of Exeter. Henry Holland, 2nd Duke of Exeter, was a staunch Lancastrian. He married the Duke of York's daughter Anne, who obtained a divorce from him.

‖ Sir Henry Beaufort, 2nd Duke, K.G., beheaded 1464.

¶ Forbear.

Now help Saint George, our Lady's knight,
And be our lode-star day and night,
To strength * our King, and England's right,
And fell our foemen's pride.
Now is our ship dressed in his kind,
With his tackling before and behind;
Whoso love it not, God make him blind!
In pains to abide.

1459.—Condition of the realm.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies, pp. 79, 80. [*Camden Soc.* lxiv.]

[A Yorkist version, setting things in the worst possible light.]

In this same time, the realm of England was out of all good governance, as it had been many days before, for the King was simple and led by covetous counsel, and owed more than he was worth. His debts increased daily, but payment was there none; all the possessions and lordships that pertained to the crown the King had given away, some to lords and some to other simple persons, so that he had almost nought to live on. And such impositions as were put to the people, as taxes, tallages, and quyn-zymes,† all that came from them was spended in vain, for he held no household nor maintained no wars. For these misgovernances, and for many other, the hearts of the people were turned away from them that had the land in governance, and their blessing was turned into cursing.

* Strengthen.

† Fifteenths. "A tax of the fifteenth part of the property of a town or city, &c." [Davies, p. 200.]

The Queen with such as were of her affinity ruled the realm as it liked her, gathering riches innumerable.* The officers of the realm, and specially the Earl of Wiltshire, Treasurer of England for to enrich himself, peeled the poor people, and disherited rightful heirs, and did many wrongs. The Queen was defamed and deslandered, that he was called Prince, was not her son, but a bastard gotten in avoutry†; wherefore she dreading that he should not succeed his father in the crown of England, allied unto her all the knights and squires of Cheshire for to have their benevolence, and held open household among them; and made her son called the Prince give a livery of swans‡ to all the gentlemen of the country, and to many other throughout the land, trusting thorough their strength to make her son King; making privy means to some of the lords of England for to stir the King that he should resign the crown to her son: but she could not bring her purpose about.

[Many of these Cheshire knights and squires fell with Lord Audley at Blore Heath in Staffordshire, fighting against the Earl of Salisbury, Sept. 23, 1459. But at Ludlow, Oct. 13, the Yorkists, being weakened by one of their captains, Andrew Trollope, going over to the King, dispersed without giving battle.]

* It may be doubted whether there is much truth in this as regards the Queen; but the popular mind readily takes up the notion that obnoxious persons in high place are amassing fabulous riches.

† Adultery.

‡ The silver swan, gorged with a crown and chained, had been one of the badges of Henry IV. and V., who derived it from the Bohun family. The more famous badge of the red rose, attributed to the House of Lancaster, is said by some to have also originally belonged to Bohun.

1459, Oct. 13—Nov. 2.—How the Earl of Warwick played the pilot.

J. de Wavrin, Chronicles, ed. Mlle. Dupont, T. II., P. vi., L. iii., c. xv., pp. 195, 196. [French.]

When the Count of Warwick saw that his people had thus abandoned him, he was much dismayed, and not without reason; he asked his father and the Duke of York what was to be done. They looked a while one upon another; then the Count of Salisbury said that they thought that the best they could do was to make their people fall back upon a village in their rear. It so happened that, as they were falling back, Andrew Trollope and his band were the first to set upon them. And there was a very great discomfiture, for the two brothers of my lord of Warwick were taken prisoners there:* and the Duke of York, and with him his son, Count of Rutland, made their escape towards the north, and got off to Ireland. And the Count of Warwick took his father and the Count of March to Wales,† where the Count of Warwick, by the means of a gentleman named Master Dynham,‡ bought a vessel which cost two hundred

* Sir Thomas and Sir John Nevill. English accounts say that they had been made prisoners at or soon after the battle of Blore Heath.

† Devonshire, according to Whethamstede and the continuator of Gregory. "Apparently somewhere near Barnstaple." (*C. W. Oman, Warwick the Kingmaker*, ch. viii., p. 79). But the sixteenth-century chronicler Hall makes the Earls sail from Exmouth.

‡ Afterwards made Lord Dynham by Edward IV., and Lord High Treasurer by Henry VII. He died about 1501.

and twenty nobles; then they hired four mariners to take them, making as though they wanted to go to Bristol. But when they had put to sea, my lord of Warwick asked the master-mariner and the others if they knew the way towards the west; to which they answered, nay, nor did they know the course of that sea, for they had never been there: at which all the noble company were dismayed. Then the Count of Warwick,* seeing his father and all the others thus troubled, said, to cheer them, that, so please God and my lord Saint George, he would bring them to a haven of safety. And in fact he stripped to his doublet, and went to the helm; then he had the sail hoisted, upon which the wind blew so that they arrived at the isle of Guernsey, where they waited for a wind, until God of His grace permitted them to reach Calais; but, before they got there, they had very rough weather.

[A Parliament was held at Coventry, Nov. 20, in which the Duke of York and his adherents were attainted.]

1460. — Preparations against the Yorkist Earls. They are invited over by the Kentishmen.

Eng. Chron., ed. Davies, pp. 90, 91.

Then were the King's privy seals directed to all manner of bishops, abbots, priors, and to all the great men of the spirituality and temporality, for to levy the King money without delay for to wage men to keep

* Warwick, as Captain of Calais and "Chief Captain to guard the sea," had proved himself a bold and able commander in naval warfare. The story above shows that he had also acquired a practical knowledge of seamanship.

the sea coasts, that the said Earls should not arrive on no side: and the Earl of Wiltshire made promise to all such persons as lent the King any money, that they should have assignments and repayment of the goods of the foresaid Duke of York and Earls, whom they called open traitors. And the said Earl of Wiltshire taxed the sum what every man should levy, and so he made levy of many great sums. And over this, proclamation was made by commandment of the King, that every city, town, and burgh, and hundreds should find certain soldiers of their own cost to keep the sea coasts, for dread of landing of the said Earls.

Furthermore, the commons of Kent, dreading the malice and the tyranny of the foresaid Earl of Wiltshire and of other, lest he would exercise his vengeance upon them, as he had done upon them at Newbury,* sent privily messengers and letters to Calais to the foresaid Earls, beseeching them that they would in all haste possible come and succour them from their enemies, promising that they would assist them with all their power.

. . . When the Earls knew the true hearts of the people, they disposed them daily for to come into this land. And not long before their coming, this ballad that followeth was set upon the gates of the city of Canterbury.

[The ballad, in English with Latin intermixed, prays for the return of Richard Duke of York—

"Set him that he may sit among princes, as he did before"—

* Where severe punishment had been inflicted upon the adherents of the Duke of York.

and extols Edward Earl of March and the Nevills. The conclusion is mysterious :—

> "The dead man greeteth you well,
> That is just, true as steel,
> With very good intent,
> All the Realm of Englond
> Soon to loose from sorrow's bond,
> By right indifferent * judgment."

One is reminded of the rimes which, in the peasant insurrection of 1381, carried the signal for revolt from shire to shire.]

1460. July 10.—The Battle of Northampton.

Eng. Chron. ed. Davies, pp. 96-98.

[The Earls crossed from Calais to Sandwich, June 26th, and were joined by Archbishop Bourchier and large numbers of the Kentishmen. On July 2nd the city of London opened its gates to them. The next day they made oath at Saint Paul's that they intended nothing against their allegiance to King Henry. Leaving the Earl of Salisbury to govern London and conduct the siege of the Tower, the Earls of March and Warwick proceeded to Northampton.]

The King at Northampton lay at Friars, and had ordained there a strong and a mighty field, in the meadows beside the Nunnery, armed and arrayed with guns, having the river at his back.

The Earls, with the number of 60,000, as it was said, came to Northampton, and sent certain bishops to the King beseeching him, that in eschewing of † effusion of Christian blood, he would admit and suffer the Earls for to come to his presence to declare themself as they were. The Duke of Buckingham that stood beside the King said unto them, "Ye come not as bishops for to treat for peace, but as men of

* Impartial. † In order to eschew.

arms;" because they brought with them a notable company of men of arms. They answered and said, "We come thus for surety of our persons, for they that be about the King be not our friends." "Forsooth," saith the Duke, "the Earl of Warwick shall not come to the King's presence, and if he come he shall die." The messengers returned again, and told this to the Earls.

Then the Earl of Warwick sent an herald of arms to the King, beseeching that he might have hostages of safe going and coming, and he would come naked* to his presence; but he might not be heard. And the third time he sent to the King and said that at two hours after noon he would speak with him, or else die in the field.

. . . . . .

Then on the Thursday the 10th day of July, the year of Our Lord 1460, at two hours after noon, the said Earls of March and Warwick let cry thorough the field, that no man should lay hand upon the King nor on the common people, but only on the lords, knights, and squires:† then the trumpets blew up, and both hosts encountered and fought together half an hour.

* *I.e.*, unarmed; without weapons or defensive armour. "Naked men" are spoken of in opposition to "harnessed men."

† This became Edward's usual policy. "King Edward has related to me," says Comines in his Memoirs, "that in all the battles which he had won, as soon as he got the upper hand, he mounted on horseback, and cried to save the people and kill the lords: for of these few or none escaped."—T. I., l. iii., c. v., p. 245 [ed. Mlle. Dupont].

The Lord Grey,* that was the King's vanguard, brake the field and came to the Earls' party, which caused salvation of many a man's life : many were slain, and many were fled, and were drowned in the river.

The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury,† the Lord Beaumont,‡ the Lord Egremont,§ were slain by the Kentishmen beside the King's tent, and many other knights and squires. The ordinance of the King's guns availed not, for that day was so great rain that the guns lay deep in the water, and so were quenched and might not be shot.

When the field was done, and the Earls thorough mercy and help had the victory, they came to the King in his tent,‖ and said in this wise—

"Most Noble Prince, displease you not, though it have pleased God of His Grace to grant us the victory of our mortal enemies, the which by their venomous malice have untruly stirred and moved your Highness to exile us out of your land, and would us have put to final shame and confusion. We come not to

* Edmund, 4th Lord Grey of Ruthyn.

† Sir John Talbot, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G., son of the great Talbot.

‡ John, 1st Viscount Beaumont, K.G.

§ Sir Thomas Percy, created Baron Egremont, 1449. He was a younger son of the Earl of Northumberland who fell at Saint Albans.

‖ Whethamstede describes him as "sitting almost alone and solitary." His passiveness on this occasion looks as if his mental or physical powers, or both, were again giving way.

that intent for to inquiet nor grieve your said Highness, but for to please your most noble person, desiring most tenderly the high welfare and prosperity thereof, and of all your realm, and for to be your true liegemen, while our lives shall endure."

The King of their words was greatly recomforted, and anon was led into Northampton with procession, where he rested him three days, and then came to London, the 16th day of the month abovesaid, [and] lodged in the Bishop's palace. For the which victory London gave to Almighty God great laud and thanking.

Not long before this battle it was proclaimed in Lancastershire and Cheshire, that if so were that the King had the victory of the Earls, that then every man should take what he might and make havoc in the shires of Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Wiltshire: but God would not suffer such false robbery.

1460, Sept.-Oct.—Return of the Duke of York.

Gregory's Chronicle, p. 208. [English.]

[A Parliament had been summoned in the King's name to meet at Westminster on the 7th October. The Duke of York came over from Ireland about Sept. 8.]

And this same year the Duke of York came out of Ireland and landed at the Red Cliff in Lancashire,* and his livery was white and blue in their clothing, and y-broidered above with fetterlocks.† And

* At Redbank, near Chester, according to William Worcester and Whethamstede.

† The falcon within a fetterlock was the badge of the Dukedom of York.

thus he came forth toward London; and then his lady the Duchess met with him in a chare* y-covered with blue velvet, and four poor coursers therein. And so he came to Abingdon, and there he sent for trumpeters and clarioners to bring him to London, and there he gave them banners with the whole arms of England without any diversity,† and commanded his sword to be borne upright before him; and so he rode forth unto London till he came to Westminster to King Harry's palace, and there he claimed the Crown of England.

1460, Oct.—The Duke of York asserts his right to the throne.

Whethamstede, I., 376-80. [Latin.]

Almost at the beginning of the Parliament, ‡ the Lord Duke of York arrived, with a retinue of great magnificence, in no little exaltation of spirit; for he came with trumpets and clarions, with men-at-arms, and an over-great household; ‖ and immediately going into the Palace, he went straight through the great hall till he came to that appointed chamber

* Chariot, car.

† Without any *difference* (as the heraldic phrase is) to denote a younger branch of the Royal house. His arms as Duke of York were those of France and England, with a label of three points, arg., each charged with as many torteaux. But now, discarding the label, he assumed the arms which the King of England alone could bear—a foretoken of his intent to claim the Crown.

‡ On the third day of the session. *W. Worc.*, 774.

‖ He entered the Palace with 500 armed men. *W. Worc.*, 774.

where the King with the Commons is wont to hold his Parliament. And having come thither, he went straight forward until he came to the King's throne, upon the cushion of which he laid his hand, like a man about to take possession of his right, and kept it upon it for a brief space of time. At length, however, withdrawing his hand, he turned his face to the people, and standing quietly under the cloth of royal state, he contemplated the gazing concourse.*

But whilst he was thus standing, and looking down upon the people, and thought that they were applauding him, Master Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, came up, and having first made a fitting salutation, asked him whether he wished to come and see the King. At which request as it were taking offence, he answered again, shortly enough, "I do not bethink me that I know of any within the realm for whom it were not more fitting that he should come to me and see me than for me to attend on him and visit him."

The Archbishop, having heard this answer, withdrew in haste, and reported to the King the answer which he had heard from the Duke's mouth. Then, the Archbishop having withdrawn, the Duke also withdrew to the principal apartment of the whole Palace (the King occupying the Queen's apartment), and, the bolts having been broken, and the doors thrown open, he there, after the manner of a king rather than of a duke, took up his lodging for a

* Few of the Lords were favourable to him, says William Worcester; but the dissentients kept away.

considerable time.* But this arrogant conduct of the said Lord Duke being published abroad among the common folk, and how he had thus forced his way in, out of his own inconsiderate presumption, and not at all in consequence of any serious or sensible deliberation, forthwith every estate and degree, age and sex, order and condition, began to murmur against him. . . .

Since the great majority of the people thus murmured, though under their breath, and even at times so lifted up their voice that at length the sound reached the prince's† ears, he began in a little while to conduct himself more humbly, to know and to think of himself more humbly, and to restrain his spirits more within measure.

[It appears from the Burgundian chronicler Wavrin, that the Duke was taken to task by the Earl of Warwick, who better knew the feeling of the Londoners.]

1460, Oct. 31.—The Duke of York is declared heir to the Crown.‡

"*Short Eng. Chron.*" in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 57.

This year came the Duke of York and his son,

* "And thither came Richard Duke of York, . . and was lodged in the palace, the King being there, and brake up the doors of the King's chamber. And the King hearing the great noise and rumour of the people, gave him place and took another chamber."—*Eng. Chron. ed. Davies*, p. 99. This seems to have been before the Duke's appearance in Parliament.

† *I.e.*, the Duke of York. "Most High, Potent, and Noble Prince" is, upon some occasions, part of the formal style of a Duke.

‡ For full details of the transaction, the Rolls of Parliament, V. 375-381, must be consulted.

Earl of Rutland, out of Ireland to Westminster, to the foresaid Parliament, on a Friday, the 10th day of October, claiming his right and title, wherein the Lords were against him,* but that was afterward full dear bought.† And there it was argued and proved between King Harry and the said Duke, with all their wise counsel, spiritual and temporal, in the said Parliament, that the right of the crowns of England and of France to the said Duke and his heirs pertaineth and 'longeth, and to none other. And yet they be liegemen again to King Henry for his lifetime, and each to other sworn to be true, and it was proclaimed.

Eng. Chron. ed. Davies, p 106.

Also it was ordained by the said Parliament, that the said Richard Duke of York should be called Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and [he] was made also by the said Parliament Protector of England.

[The continuator of Gregory represents Henry as yielding to sheer terror. "At the last the King for fear of death granted him the crown, for a man that hath but little wit will soon be afeard of death, and yet I trust and believe there was no man that would do him bodily harm."]

1460.—The Queen's adventures.

Gregory's Chron., pp. 208, 209. [English.]

And that same night [Oct. 31] the King removed unto London against his will, to the Bishop's palace

* The Lords drew up five articles of objection to the Duke's claim.

† *I.e.*, their opposition cost them or the country dear.

of London, and the Duke of York came unto him that same night by the torch-light and took upon him as King, and said in many places that "this is ours by very right." And then the Queen hearing this, she voided* unto Wales, but she was met with beside the Castle of Malpas,† and a servant of her own that she had made both yeoman and gentleman, and after appointed for to be in office with her son the Prince, spoiled her and robbed her, and put her so in doubt‡ of her life and son's life also. And then she came to the Castle of Harlech in Wales, and she had many great gifts and was greatly comforted, for she had need thereof, for she had a full easy many§ about her, the number of four persons. And most commonly she rode behind a young poor gentleman of fourteen year age, his name was John Combe, y-born at Amesbury in Wiltshire. And there hence she removed full privily unto the Lord Jasper, Lord and Earl of Pembroke, for she durst not abide in no place that was open. . . For the Lords would fain have had her unto London, for they knew well that all the workings that were done grew by her, for she was more wittier than the King.

[From Wales the Queen retreated to Scotland. By letters issued in the King's name, she succeeded, with the help of the Lancastrian lords, in raising a considerable force in the North of England.]

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* Withdrew, fled. The English Chronicle and William Worcester represent that she had fled with her son into Wales immediately after the battle of Northampton.

† In Cheshire. ‡ Fear.

§ A very small company or retinue.

1461.—Advance of the Northern army.

Eng. Chron. ed. Davies, p. 107.

[On or about the 29th Dec., 1460, the Duke of York fell in battle with the Queen's adherents at Wakefield. His second son, Edmund, called Earl of Rutland, was slain in flight by John, Lord Clifford; and the Earl of Salisbury, being taken prisoner, was put to death at Pontefract. After the battle, Margaret arrived from Scotland to join her army in marching upon London.]

When the death of these lords was known, great sorrow was made for them; and anon, by the King's* commandment, writs and commissions were sent and directed to the sheriffs and other officers, to raise people for to chastise the people and the rebels of the North. And they of the North hearing this gathered privily a great people, and came down suddenly to the town of Dunstaple,† robbing all the country and people as they came, and spoiling abbeys and houses of religion and churches, and bare away chalices, books and other ornaments, as they had been paynims or Saracens, and no Christian men.

1461, Feb. 2 or 3.‡—Battle of Mortimer's Cross.

"*Short Eng. Chron.*," p. 76.

And the Earl of March kept his Christmas at Gloucester. And when tidings came that my lord

* "The King" practically means the Earl of Warwick, who was in or near London, with Henry in his keeping.

† The Northern army, which had in its ranks Scots and Welshmen as well as English Borderers, was at Dunstaple on Feb. 16, having plundered Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Melbourne, Royston, and other towns by the way. See Gregory's Chronicle, and "Brief Notes."

‡ Authorities vary as to the exact day.

his father and his brother with many other lords falsely was murdered and slain (to him the greatest heaviness that might be), and how the North was raised, coming southward, then anon he did send into diverse shires of knowledge, and soon after he had 30,000 of good men coming to fight with them. Then came suddenly other tidings that the Earl of Wiltshire and the Earl of Pembroke by sea were come into Wales with Frenchmen and Bretons and Irishmen,* coming and raising Wales, thorough purposing them for to destroy him ; † and he with all his men turned again backward into Wales and met with them by Mortimer's Cross,‡ where that it was said on a Sunday Candlemas Day by the morrow§ appeared the sun as three suns sundry‖ on him in the east, and closed again together. And then he kneeled down on his knees and made his prayers and thanked God.¶ And anon freshly and manly he took the field upon his enemies and put them at flight, and slew of them 3,000,** and some of their

* The Irishmen were levied by the Earl of Wiltshire, who was also Earl of Ormonde.

† On account of their purpose to destroy him.

‡ About six miles from Leominster.

§ Candlemas Day (Feb. 2) fell in 1461 on a Monday, to which day the English Chronicle assigns the appearance of the three suns, placing the battle on the following day.

‖ Separate.

¶ To his followers he interpreted the phænomenon as significant of the favour of the Trinity. See *Eng. Chron.*, p. 110.

** Their whole number was only 8,000, according to W. Worcester.

captains were taken and beheaded,* but Pembroke and Wiltshire stole away privily disguised and fled out of the country.

1461, Feb. 17.—Second Battle of Saint Albans.

Eng. Chron. ed. Davies, pp. 107, 108.

The 12th day of February, the Thursday, King Harry with his lords, that is to say, the Duke of Norfolk, and Suffolk,† the Earls of Warwick and of Arundel,‡ the Lord Bonvile and other, went out of London, and came with their people to the town of Saint Albans, not knowing that the people of the North was so nigh.§ And when the King heard that they were so nigh him, he went out and took his field beside a little town called Sandridge, not far from Saint Albans, in a place called No-man's-land, and there he stood and saw his people slain on both sides.‖ And at the last, thorough the withdrawing of the Kentish men with their captain,

* Owen Tudor and nine others.

† John de la Pole, son of the murdered Duke of Suffolk, and at this time eighteen years old. He was married to the Duke of York's daughter Elizabeth. Died 1491.

‡ William Fitz-Alan, 15th Earl, died 1488.

§ According to the continuator of Gregory, p. 213, the Yorkists were badly served by their scouts, and also made an ill-advised change of position, so that the Queen's army was upon them before they had got into order; "and ere the gunners . . . could level their guns, they were busily fighting."

‖ Henry was in fact a captive under the guard of Lord Bonvile and Sir Thomas Kyriel.

called Lovelace,* that was in the van-ward, . . . and also by undisposition of the people of the King's side, that would not be guided nor governed by their captains, King Harry's part lost the field. The lords that were with the King seeing this, withdrew them, and went their way.†

When the King saw his people disparbeled‡ and the field broken, he went to his Queen Margaret that came with the northern men, and her son Edward; for they of the North said that they came for to restore the King to the Queen his wife, and for to deliver him out of prison; forasmuch as since the battle of Northampton he had been under the rule and governance of the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and of other.

. . . The Lord Bonvile that came with King Harry would have withdrawn him[self], as other lords did, and saved himself from his enemies, but the King assured him that he should have no bodily harm; natheless, notwithstanding that surety, at instance of the Queen, the Duke of Exeter, and th' Earl of Devonshire, by judgment of him that was called the Prince, a child,§ he was beheaded at Saint Albans, and with him a worthy knight of Kent called

* One of the Earl of Warwick's captains, and master of his household.

† "Thorough great labour the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick escaped away." *Greg. Chron.*, p. 212.

‡ Dispersed.

§ Edward, Prince of Wales, then seven years old. Bonvile and Kyriel were beheaded in the child's presence. *W. Worc.*, 776.

Sir Thomas Kyriel.* Sir John Nevill, King Harry's chamberlain, brother to the Earl of Warwick, was taken, but soon after he was delivered. This battle was done on Shrove Tuesday, the year abovesaid, the 17th day of February, in the which were slain 1,916 persons.

1461, Feb. 17.—The King knights his young son.

Gregory's Chronicle, p. 214. [English.]

And at the night after the battle, the King blessed his son the Prince, and Doctor Morton† brought forth a book that was full of orisons, and blessed that young child *cum pinguedine terræ et cum rore cœli* [with the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven,]‡ and made him knight. And the young knight weared a pair of brigantiers§ y-covered with purple velvet y-beat with goldsmith's work. And the Prince made many knights. The first that he made was Andrew Trollope, for he was hurt and might not go for a caltrap‖ in his foot; and he said, "My lord, I have not deserved it, for I slew but fifteen men, for I stood still in one place and they came unto me, but they [a]bode still with me."

* Kyriel, like Lord Bonvile, had distinguished himself in the French wars.

† Afterwards Bishop of Ely and Archbishop of Canterbury.

‡ See Isaac's blessing of his son, Gen. xxvii. 28.

§ Kind of mail-coat or corslet, in two halves, worn by foot-soldiers.

‖ Caltraps were iron balls, each set with four sharp prongs. They were strewn on the ground to lame the enemy's men and horses.

1461, Feb. 17 or 18.*—How Sir Thomas Kyriel was adjudged to death.

Wavrin, ed. Mlle Dupont, T. II, P. vi, L. iii, c. xlii, p. 265. [French.]

Afterwards [the Queen] spoke to Sir Thomas Kyriel and his son,† whom she several times called traitors; to which the good knight answered: "My most dread lady, never in my life have I imagined or wrought treason, nor could any one ever lay to my charge any foul reproach; thus it would be a great injury to me that in my old age I should be branded with it." At these words the Queen looked at him very fiercely, swearing by the faith that she owed to the King that she would take vengeance therefor; so she caused her son the Prince of Wales to be called, to adjudge by what death they should die. And the child, who was now brought in, came before the Queen his mother, who asked him:—"Fair son, by what death shall these two knights whom ye see there," to wit, Sir Thomas Kyriel and his son, "end their days?" And the young prince answered that their heads should be cut off. To which Sir Thomas replied, saying, "May God bring to evil whosoever taught thee to speak thus!" And soon afterwards their heads were cut off, which was a pity.

[In the Act of Attainder of 1461 against the Lancastrians, among the many charges brought against "Henry, Usurper,"

* William Worcester says that Bonvile and Kyriel were made prisoners and beheaded the day after the battle.

† The English accounts do not mention Kyriel's son. Lord Bonvile may be meant, or an esquire named William Gower, who was put to death at the same time.

is :—" Suffering wilfully those worthy and good Knights William Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell, for the prowess of Knighthood approved in their persons called to the Order of the Garter, and William Gower, Squire, the Bearer of one of his Banners, whomto he made faith and assurance under King's word proceeding from his mouth to keep and defend them there from all hurt, jeopardy, and peril, to be murdered and after that tyrannously headed with great violence, without process of Law or any pity, contrary to his said faith and promise, abominable in the hearing of all Christian Princes."—*Rot. Parl.*, V. 477.]

1461, Feb.—Ravages of the Northern army.

Whethamstede, I. 394, 395. [Latin.]

Having first created his son a knight, the King took his way towards the Minster; where being right honourably received by the Abbot and the brethren, he was led with hymns and confessions to the high altar, thence to the shrine, thence to the chamber where he was usually lodged. But before he came to that chamber, the Abbot approached him, and besought that, for the preservation both of the town and the church from rapine and spoliation, he would deign to order a general proclamation, and a prohibition under severe penalty, to be made, that no one, coming from the field to the town, should presume to turn his hands to the unlawful act of plunder.

Although he benignly assented thereto, and ordered it so to be done at once, yet there was no one who acceded to the proclamation, or abstained from plunder any the more for it. For they had all, as they asserted, been allowed and licensed by the Queen and the Northern nobles to seize and take

whatsoever they might light upon in any of the places beyond Trent, by way of remuneration and recompense for their labours. . . .

Therefore, pertinaciously setting themselves against, not only the Royal proclamation, but also the Divine prohibition, they spared neither widows nor strangers, neither the fatherless nor orphans, nay, not even the half-clothed poor who went from door to door begging their daily victuals. Therefore may the Lord God of vengeance vindicate their cause, and return, as they have deserved, due retribution to those rapacious and haughty people! Amen.

[The Abbey and its neighbourhood were so completely stripped that, after the departure of the army, Abbot Whethamstede, having no provisions left, had to tell his monks to disperse and shift for themselves until better times.]

1461, Feb.—The Northern army retreats.

Gregory's Chronicle, pp. 214, 215. [English.]

[From Saint Albans the Lancastrian leaders fell back to Dunstable, throwing away their chance of seizing London rather than run the risk of its being sacked by their wild Borderers.]

And the King and the Queen took their journey unto York-wards, for they deemed that the Northern men would have been too cruel in robbing if they had come to London. But by the advice of Doctor Morton they sent certain knights and men unto London and to Westminster, but they might not be suffered to enter into the town. And some of their mayny were slain for their cursed language. And the Mayor* ordained both bread and victual to be sent

* Richard Lee.

unto the Queen, and a certain sum of money withal. But when men of London and commons wist that the carts should go to the Queen, they took the carts and departed* the bread and victual among the commons. And one John Bishop was a great doer of this matter, for he was chief cook to the knight Sir John Wenlock. But as for the money, I wot not how it was departed; I trow the purse stole the money.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 109.

Then King Harry, with Margaret his Queen and the Northern men, went and returned homeward toward the North again: the which Northern men as they went homeward did harms innumerable, taking men's carts, wains, horses, and beasts, and robbed the people, and led their pillage into the North country, so that men of the shires that they past by had almost left no beasts to till their land.

1461, Feb. 26-27.—Edward, Earl of March, enters London. He is received as King, March 4.

Gregory's Chronicle, p. 215. [English.]

Then came tidings of the coming of the Earl of March unto London; then all the city were fain,† and thanked God, and said that

He that had London forsake[n] ‡
[They] Would no more to them take,

and said, "Let us walk in a new vineyard, and let us make us a gay garden in the month of March with

* Apportioned, divided. † Glad.

‡ *I.e.*, King Henry.

this fair white rose * and herb, the Earl of March." And the Earl of Warwick met with the Earl of March beside Oxford, ten mile out of it, at a town of his own y-named Burford-upon-the-Wold. . .

. . . . . .

Also the 26th day of February next following, Edward Earl of March came to London out of Wales and the Earl of Warwick with him, and 40,000 men with them both, and they entered into the city of London, and there he took upon him the crown of England by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by the election of the commons. And so he began his reign the 4th day of March, in the year of Our Lord God 1461.

1461. March 1-4.—How Edward was made King.

W. Worcester, Annals, p. 777. [Latin.]

And Edward, then Duke of York, lodged in his hostel at Baynard Castle.†

Now on the following Sunday, to wit, the [1st] day of March, after noon, there were assembled in a great field beyond Clerkenwell the citizens, and men of the said Duke's army, to the number of 3,000 or 4,000, whom the reverend father George Nevill, then

* The white rose is historically the best-known of the many badges of the House of York. It is said to have been connected with the castle and honour of Clifford, and to have been first used as a badge by Edmund of Langley. Sometimes it appears in the centre of a sun with rays.

† Baynard's Castle, which stood on the bank of the river in Thames Street, belonged to the Duke of York.

Chancellor of England,* caused to be drawn up in the field; and he made known among them the title by which the said Edward could claim the crown of England and of France; and forthwith all that people cried out that this Edward should be and was King. I was present and heard, and came down with them immediately into the city.

"*Brief Latin Chronicle*," p. 173.

The aforesaid Edward on the 2nd day of March caused to be proclaimed in London articles concerning his right to the crown of the realm of England.

W. Worc., p. 777.

On the 3rd day of March the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Salisbury (Beauchamp),† and of Exeter (to wit, the reverend George Nevill), and John Duke of Norfolk, Richard Earl of Warwick, Lord Fitz-Walter,‡ William Herbert,§ the Lord of Ferrers of Chartley,‖ and many others, held a council at Baynard Castle, where they agreed and concluded that this Edward, Duke of York, then should be King of England.

* He had been made Chancellor on July 25, 1460.

† Richard Beauchamp, grandson of John, Baron Beauchamp of Powyke.

‡ Sir John Ratcliffe, K.G., who had married the heiress of Fitz-Walter and Devereux.

§ Sir William Herbert, Lord of Raglan, created Earl of Pembroke 1468; beheaded by the insurgents in 1469.

‖ Walter Devereux, who had married the heiress of Ferrers of Chartley.

"*Brief Latin Chronicle*," p. 173.

On the 4th day of the same month, after there had been in London a general procession in regular form, the Bishop of Exeter made a right laudable sermon at Saint Paul's Cross,* and clearly showed, by manifold evidence, the title of the said Edward to the realm of England; also he fully replied to, and demolished, the objections which might be made against it. When this excellent sermon was finished, the Lord Edward, with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and a great throng of people, rode the same day to Westminster, where, in Westminster Hall, he took possession of the regal seat.† Also there he was received with honour by the monks who came in procession to meet him. And after they had committed the regal sceptre to him, he obtained possession of the King's palace. He was not, however, as yet anointed, or distinguished by the royal diadem. This having been accomplished in due form, he returned,‡ amid the congratulations of the people, to his place in London.

1461, March 29.—Battle of Towton.

"*Hearne's Fragment*," p. 287. [English.]

[Sending the Earl of Warwick before him, Edward, with an army largely composed of Welsh and Kentishmen, marched

* In an article by Halliwell in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., pp. 128-130, will be found the sermon (or a fragment of it) preached by Bishop Nevill on this occasion.

† The marble throne which formerly stood in Westminster Hall. See Mr. Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, pp. xxii, xxvii, xxviii.

‡ He returned by water. *Whethamstede*, I. 408.

"out of the city in goodly order at Bishopsgate" on Friday, March 13, and took his way northwards. After sharp fighting at Ferrybridge, March 27, in which Lord Fitz-Walter fell, and March 28, when the Earl of Warwick received an arrow-wound in the leg, the Yorkists gained a decisive victory on Palm Sunday, March 29, at Towton, near Tadcaster.]

About four of the clock at night* the two battles joined and fought all night till on the morrow at afternoon, when about the noon John Duke of Norfolk with a fresh band of good men of war came in to the aid of the new-elect King Edward. This field was sore foughten. For there were slain on both parties 33,000 men,† and all the season it snew.‡ There were slain the Earls of Northumberland§ and Westmoreland,‖ with other, and Sir Andrew Trollope; . . . and the deposed King Harry, his Queen, with Harry Duke of Somerset and other, in great haste fled into Scotland.

Second Continuation of the Crowland History, pp. 532, 533. [Latin.]

But since the holy solemnity of the day which is entitled Palm Sunday was urgent, after having hired

* This may be understood either as four p.m., March 28, or four a.m., March 29. But it is presumably the latter here, for Bishop Nevill (*Calendar of State Papers—Venetian*, Vol. I. No. 370) reports that the battle began about sunrise. For a modern account, see Mr. Oman's *Warwick*, pp. 116-127.

† In the Paston Letters [Gairdner, Vol. II., No. 385, p. 6] it is stated, that, besides lords and knights, 28,000 dead were counted by heralds.

‡ All the time it snowed. § Sir Henry Percy, 3rd Earl.

‖ An error. It was the Earl of Westmoreland's brother, John, Lord Nevill, who fell.

men to bury the bodies of the slain which had been brought together, the King hastened to enter the aforesaid city [York]. Those who interred the heaps of bodies in trenches and pits prepared here and there for the purpose bear witness that 38,000 fighting men fell on that day, besides those who were drowned in the river, whose number is not within our knowledge. Certainly the blood of the slain, intermingled with the snow which then was covering the whole surface of the earth, afterwards ran in horrible wise down the furrows and ditches along with the melted snow, for a distance of two or three miles.

"*Short English Chronicle*," pp. 77, 78.

And there won King Edward the field, thanked be Jesu. And then rode the King to York, and there he was royally received. And there he in the castle took the Earl of Devonshire and other more, and did let smite off their heads.* And King Harry fled with his Queen and diverse lords with them to Berwick, and they delivered that town and many other castles in the North to the Scots and to the Frenchmen for to have succour of them.

1461, June 28.—King Edward is crowned.

Gregory's Chron., p. 218. [English].

And the King tarried in the North a great while, and made great enquirings of the rebellions against

* Caused their heads to be smitten off. The Earl of Devon (Thomas Courtenay, 6th Earl) being sick, was unable to make his escape before the conqueror arrived. The Earl of Wiltshire was taken at Cockermouth, brought before the King at Newcastle, and there beheaded. His head was sent to London, to be set upon the bridge.

his father; and took down his father's head from the walls of York;* and made all the country to be sworn unto him and to his laws. And then he returned unto London again; and there he made eighteen knights and many lords. And then he rode to Westminster; and there he was crowned the 28th day of June, and the year of Our Lord 1461, blessed be God of His great grace.

1461.—Yorkist Song of the Battle of Towton.

Archæologia, 1842, vol. xxix, pp. 343-347. [English.]

Now is the Rose of Rone† growen to a great honour,
Therefore sing we ever-each-one,‡ y-blessed be that flower!

. . . . . .

Betwixt Christmas and Candlemas, a little before the Lent,
All the lords of the north they wrought by one assent;
For to 'stroy the south country they did all their intent;
Had not the Rose of Rone been, all England had been shent.§
Y-blessed be the time, that ever God sprad‖ that flower!

* Where it had been exposed, crowned in mockery with a paper crown.

† Rouen, where Edward IV. was born, 28 April, 1442.

‡ Every one. § Brought to confusion, to disgrace.

‖ Spread.

Upon a Shrove-Tuesday, on a green leed,*
Betwixt Sandridge and Saint Albans many man 'gan bleed;
On an Ash-Wednesday we lived in mickle dread,
Then came the Rose of Rone down, to help us at our need.
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

The northern men made their boast, when they had done that deed,
"We will dwell in the south country, and take all that we need;
These wives and their daughters, our purpose shall they speed,"—
Then said the Rose of Rone, "Nay, that work shall I forbede."†
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

For to save all England, the Rose did his intent,
With Calais and with London, with Essex and with Kent,
And all the south of England, unto the water of Trent;
And when he saw the time best, the Rose from London went.
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

The way into the north country the Rose full fast he sought,
With him went the Ragged Staff,‡ that many man dear bought;

* Plain. † Forbid.

‡ The Earl of Warwick, denoted by his badge, the Ragged Staff, which, the singer says, cost many a man dear.

So then did the White Lion,* full worthily he wrought,
Almighty Jesu bless his soul, that those arms ought!†
And blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

. . . . . .

The northern party made them strong with spear and with shield,
On Palm Sunday, after the noon, they met us in the field;
Within an hour they were right fain to flee, and eke to yield,
Twenty-seven thousand the Rose killed in the field.
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

The Rose wan the victory, the field, and also the chase;
Now may the husband‡ in the south dwell in his own place,
His wife and eke his fair daughter, and all the good he has;
Such means hath the Rose made, by virtue and by grace.
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

The Rose came to London, fully royally riding,
Two archbishops of England they crowned the Rose King;

* The Duke of Norfolk, whose arms were :—Gules, a lion rampant, argent.

† *I.e.*, the soul of him that owned those arms. The verses must have been composed after Norfolk's death, Sept. 4, 1461.

‡ Husbandman.

Almighty Jesu save the Rose, and give him His blessing,
And all the realm of England joy of his crowning,
That we may bless the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

Amen, for charity.

1461, Dec. 21.—King Edward IV.'s Speech, on the prorogation of Parliament.

Rot. Parl. V. 487. [English.]

[Edward's first Parliament met on the 4th November. The Speaker was Sir James Strangways, knight of the shire for Yorkshire.]

James Strangways, and ye that be come for the Common[s] of this my Land, for the true hearts and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that I, and my Ancestors, have had unto the Crown of this Realm, the which from us have been long time withheld; and now, thanked be Almighty God, of whose grace groweth all Victory, by your true hearts and great assistance, I am restored unto that that is my right and title; wherefore I thank you as heartily as I can. Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have shewed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel death of my Lord my Father, my Brother Rutland, and my Cousin of Salisbury, and other, I thank you right heartily: and I shall be unto you, with the grace of Almighty God, as good and gracious Sovereign Lord as ever was any of my noble Progenitors to their Subjects and Liegemen. And for the faithful and loving hearts, and

also the great labours that ye have borne and sustained towards me, in the recovering of my said right and title which I now possess, I thank you with all my heart: and if I had any better good to reward you withal than my body, ye should have it, the which shall alway be ready for your defence, never sparing nor letting for no jeopardy; praying you all of your hearty assistance and good continuance, as I shall be unto you your very righteous and loving Liege Lord.

1463.—Queen Margaret's story of her adventures.

Chastellain, T. iv., L. vi., Pt ii., c. viii.—x., pp. 299-307. [French—abridged].

[The Lancastrians, with French and Scottish aid, maintained a fitful warfare in the North of England. In July, 1463, Margaret gave up the struggle, and, accompanied by her son, by Piers de Brezé, and several Englishmen, threw herself upon the protection of Duke Philip of Burgundy. She was received by him in the town of Saint-Pol, in the province of Artois, Aug. 31—Sept. 1.]

Then the Duchess of Bourbon* came to her at Saint-Pol, where they met lovingly together like two sisters, and the Queen related some of her adventures . . . , saying that it happened, for the space of five days, that her husband the King, her son, and she had for their three selves only one herring, and not one day's supply of bread; and that on a holy day she found herself at mass without a brass farthing† to offer; wherefore, in her beggary and need, she prayed a Scottish archer to lend her something, who,

* The Duke of Burgundy's sister.

† Literally, "a black denier"—the twelfth part of a sou.

half loth and regretfully, drew a Scots groat from his purse and lent it to her. She also related how, at her last unfortunate discomfiture,* she was robbed and despoiled of all she had, of her royal jewels and dresses, of her plate and treasures, with which she thought to escape into Scotland; and when all this had been taken from her, she herself was seized upon, villainously reviled, run upon with a drawn sword, caught hold of by her head-gear to have her neck severed, menaced with divers torments and cruelties, while she, on her knees and with clasped hands, wailing and weeping, prayed that, for the sake of divine and human pity, they would have mercy upon her. Withal she perseveringly called upon God's mercy; and Heaven heard her appeal; for speedily there arose such a discord and dissension among her captors about the booty, that, furiously slaughtering each other like madmen, they concerned themselves no more about the dolorous and discomfited Queen their princess. . . . . When the poor Queen saw this, she piteously addressed an esquire who was by, and prayed him that, for the sake of Our Saviour's passion, he would help her to escape. Then the esquire looked at her, and God caused him to conceive a pity for her, so that he said, "Madam, mount behind me, and my lord the Prince before, and I will save you or die,

* Margaret's "last discomfiture" took place when Norham Castle, besieged by her French and Scottish allies, was relieved by the Earl of Warwick. But Chastellain's story may be only another version of her earlier adventures after the battle of Northampton. (See p. 71).

although death seems to me more likely than not." So the Queen and her son mounted. . . .

[The esquire, at the Queen's desire, makes for a neighbouring forest.]

Now there was in this forest a place haunted by brigands, who were reported throughout the country to be pitiless cut-throats. It befell that there came up a brigand, hideous and horrible of aspect, and, roused by the sight of prey, he approached the Queen with intent to lay hands upon her. Then when the noble Queen thought that nothing but death was before her, either from the enemies from whom she had escaped, or from the brigands of whom she now saw a specimen, she called the robber up to her, and thus addressed him :—

[Margaret declares herself to be the Queen, and adjures the robber to save the son of his King.*]

In such words, or to such effect, the poor Queen reasoned with the brigand, who, seeing her tears and her distress, and also because she was Queen of the land, conceived a great pity for her ; and, the Holy Spirit softening his heart, he fell at her feet, saying that he would die by a thousand deaths and as many torments rather than abandon the noble youth until he had brought him to the haven of safety. And praying mercy of the Queen for his misdeeds, as if she were reigning in London, he vowed to God and to her never to revert to his present courses and

* The length and rhetorical tone of the speech suggest that Chastellain, after the manner long in vogue among historians, composed it himself. J. du Clercq, who gives the story more briefly, makes Margaret simply say, " Save the son of thy King."

to amend his life in expectation of mercy. So he took the youth in haste, for the Queen was ever in fear of being overtaken; wherefore she sought only to separate from the child, and to put him into God's guiding hand. Thus, kissing her son, weeping and lamenting, she left him in the hands of the brigand, who nobly did his duty by him afterwards. And the Queen, riding behind the esquire, made straight for a foreign march,* where she expected to find her husband the King. Which having reached by long weary travelling, she related to him these adventures. . . . The Duchess felt great pity for her, and said that certainly, short of having passed through the anguish of death, never had so high a princess a harder fortune, and that therefore, if God did not raise her up again, she ought to be put in the book of noble unhappy women, as having surpassed them all.

[The Duke of Burgundy gave Margaret an escort to her father's territory of Bar, where she and her followers took up their abode in the town of Saint-Mihiel. In England the Lancastrians were reduced to submission by the battle of Hexham, May 14, 1464, after which Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and thirty others were beheaded. King Henry, though hard chased, escaped, and lived in hiding till July in the next year, when he was captured on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and, being brought up to London, was consigned to captivity in the Tower.]

c. 1463.—The Lancastrian exiles.

Comines, T. I., L. iii, c. iv., *ed. Mlle. Dupont*, pp. 230-232; *ed. Chantelauze*, p. 173. [French.]

During the wars of these two houses there had been in England seven or eight great battles, and

* Probably the Scottish side of the Border or March-land is meant.

there had cruelly died three or four score princes or lords of the Royal houses: and those who were not slain had taken refuge in the Duke of Burgundy's house, all young lords, for their fathers had fallen in England: and the Duke of Burgundy had received them into his house, as his kinsfolk of Lancaster, before the marriage.* These I have seen in such great poverty, before the said Duke had knowledge of them, that those who ask alms are not so poor: for I have seen a Duke of Exeter go shoeless on foot, after the said Duke's train, seeking his living from house to house, without giving his name. He was the nearest of the lineage of Lancaster, and had espoused King Edward's sister.† Afterwards he was recognized, and had a little pension to maintain himself upon. Those of Somerset and others were there. All have since fallen in these battles. Their fathers and their kinsmen had pillaged and destroyed the kingdom of France, and had possessed the greater part of it for many years: all slew each other. Those who were left alive in England, and their children, have ended as you see. And yet men say: "God no longer punishes people, as He used in the time of the children of Israel: He bears with bad princes and bad people."

* Charles, Duke of Burgundy, married Edward the Fourth's sister, Margaret of York, July 3, 1468. For the connexion between the houses of Burgundy and Lancaster, see Genealogical Tables.

† Anne of York.

1464, May 1.—King Edward's love-match.

Gregory's Chron., pp. 226, 227. [English.]

[Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., was born probably in 1437, the eldest child of Sir Richard Woodville or Wydevile, 1st Baron (afterwards Earl) Rivers, and his wife Jacqueline of Luxemburg, Dowager-Duchess of Bedford. Elizabeth's first husband Sir John Grey was slain on the Lancastrian side in the second battle of Saint Albans, 1461, leaving her with two sons, Sir Thomas Grey, created Marquess of Dorset in 1475, and Sir Richard Grey, beheaded 1483. From W. Worcester it appears that her marriage with the King was made known at Michaelmas, though the account below defers the avowal till Nov. 1. She died June 8, 1492.]

Now take heed what love may do, for love will not nor may not cast no fault nor peril in nothing.

That same year, the first day of May, . . our sovereign Lord the King, Edward the Fourth, was wedded to the Lord Rivers' daughter; her name is Dame Elizabeth, that was wife unto Sir John Grey, son and heir unto the Lady Ferrers of Groby.* And this marriage was kept full secretly long and many a day, that no man knew it; but men marvelled that our sovereign Lord was so long without any wife. . . . But on All Hallow day at Reading there it was known, for there the King kept his common council, and the Lords moved him and exhorted him in God's name to be wedded and to live under the law of God and Church, and they would send into some strange land to enquire a queen good of birth,

* The heiress of Ferrers of Groby had married Sir Edward Grey, who was summoned to Parliament in her right. Their son Sir John Grey should have succeeded to the title, but never was summoned to Parliament.

according unto his dignity. And then our Sovereign might not no longer hide his marriage, and told them how he had done, and made that the marriage should be opened unto his lords.

1470, July 15—Aug. 4. Reconciliation of Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick.

Chastellain, T. v., L. vii., Pt. ii., c. ix., pp 467, 468. [French—somewhat abridged.]

[The ascendancy of the Wydeviles and the alliance with Burgundy alienated the Earl of Warwick from King Edward. George, Duke of Clarence,* the King's brother, was drawn into Warwick's schemes; and an insurrection in 1469 threw Edward for a time into the hands of the Nevills. But the failure of a second revolt in 1470 constrained Clarence and Warwick to fly into France, where King Louis XI. brought about a reconciliation between Warwick and Queen Margaret. It was arranged that her son Prince Edward should marry Warwick's younger daughter Anne, then aged fourteen. The negotiations were carried on at Angers, July 15—Aug. 4.]

Now I have said that the terms of this marriage were arranged between King Louis and the English Count; but there was great difficulty in bringing it about, on account of the mother, Margaret, whom this Count had ignominiously hunted out of England, and had caused to be proclaimed a shameless woman, an abandoned creature, and her son adulterine, not a King's son, and also he had caused the King her husband to be put in prison. The wound thus inflicted so smarted — and no wonder — that

* Born Oct. 21, 1449; created Duke of Clarence, 1461; married, 1469, Isabel Nevill, elder daughter and co-heiress of the Earl of Warwick.

never, down to the day of judgment, could she be healed thereof, nor so forget it as to cease to demand, justly and with good right, the Divine vengeance for it. And therefore there was good ground for objection on her side, when the marriage between her son and the daughter of such a malefactor and offender against her came to be suggested to her; the proposition might well sound strange in her ears, and the mere mention of it cut her to the heart. However, all things considered, after having weighed the great advantages which might be derived therefrom for the house of France, and for that of Anjou, which was much interested in the matter, it was at last arranged that this marriage should take place with the mother's consent, provided that the English Count, who had intrigued against the noble Lady Queen, would make a public disavowal before kings and princes, confessing himself a liar and a slanderer of her person, wrongfully and without cause; and that he would afterwards do the like in England before all the people. To which the said Warwick agreed, and promised so to do. And he did it, too; he came where Queen Margaret was, and there threw himself on his knees before her, saying everything above-mentioned, and praying her humbly mercy and pardon; while she, speaking harshly to him, let him remain on his knees a quarter of an hour; and at last pardoned him upon the conditions arranged.

So after this manner a marriage was made up here, by the contrivance of two personages, each

striving after his own interest—the King, in order to send Warwick back into England, in a new capacity, as the opponent of Edward; and Warwick, in order to return, under the protection of France, to England, there to revenge himself for his disgrace.* And finally, the two desires of King Louis and of Warwick tended to one common end—the ruin of the house of Burgundy, which could not be effected without first ruining King Edward.

1470, Sept. 29.—The flight of King Edward.

Comines, T. i., L. iii., c. v., *ed. Mlle Dupont*, pp. 245-49; *ed. Chantelauze*, pp. 182-85. [French.]

[Warwick and Clarence landed at Dartmouth and Plymouth, Sept. 13, and gathered forces in the west. King Edward, finding himself deserted by Warwick's brother, John Nevill, Marquess of Montague, fled from Lynn to Alkmaar in North Holland, in the Duke of Burgundy's dominions.]

God was so benevolent to this King Edward that he was lodged near the sea, where there was a ship following him with victuals, and two hulks of Holland, merchant-vessels. He had only just time to stow himself aboard. . . .

Thus fled King Edward, in the year 1470, with his two hulks and a little ship of his, and some seven or eight hundred persons with him, who had nothing to wear but their habiliments of war; they had not a

* It does not seem that there was more than a betrothal between Prince Edward and Anne Nevill. She afterwards married the future King Richard III.

penny about them, and hardly knew where they were going. Very strange was it to this poor King (for so might he well be called) thus to fly and be pursued by his own servants. He had now been accustomed for twelve or thirteen years to take his ease and his pleasures more than any prince living in his time; for he had thought about nothing but the ladies (and that beyond measure), and hunting, and his personal comforts. When he went in the season for his hunting, he took along with him many pavilions for the ladies: in fact he had had a merry life of it, for which he was personally as well qualified as any man that ever I saw; for he was young and as handsome as any man of his time: I mean at the time of this adversity, for afterwards he grew very fat.

Now here you see how he enters upon the adversities of this world. He made straight for Holland. At this time the Easterlings* were enemies of the English, and of the French too: they had many warships on the sea, and were much feared by the English (and not without cause, for they are good fighters), and they had done them great damage that year, and taken many ships. The said Easterlings descried afar off these ships wherein was this fugitive King, and began, seven or eight ships of them, to give him chase. He was far before them, and gained the coast of Holland, or even lower, for he arrived in Friesland, near a little town called Alkmaar, and his men anchored his ship, because the tide was out and they could not enter the haven, but they ran as

* Men of the Hanseatic League.

near the town as they could. The Easterlings came in like manner to anchor not far off him, intending to board him at the next tide.

Misfortune and peril never come single. The fortune of this King was quite changed, and his thoughts too. Only a fortnight ago he would have been much astonished if any one had told him:—"The Count of Warwick will drive you out of England, and in eleven days will be lord and master of it:"—for it took him no longer than that to bring it to obedience. And withal, he laughed at the Duke of Burgundy for expending his money with intent to defend the sea, saying that he wished he [Warwick] were already in England. And what excuse could he have found for having suffered this great loss by his own fault, except to say: "I did not think that such a thing would happen"? A prince, if he has come to the age of discretion, ought to blush at making such an excuse; for it will not pass. . . .

As it happened, my Lord de la Gruthuyse*, governor for the Duke of Burgundy in Holland, was then at the place where King Edward desired to land. Being at once informed of this by those whom they sent ashore, and also of the peril he was in, he sent forthwith to forbid the Easterlings to touch him. And he went into the ship where the King was, and received him;

* Louis of Bruges, Prince of Steenhuyse, Knight of the Golden Fleece, created by Edward IV., in gratitude for his assistance, Earl of Winchester in 1472. He died in 1492, aged about seventy. He was a great lover of literature, and his library, which now forms part of the National Library at Paris, was one of the finest of the age.

and he came ashore, and full fifteen hundred men with him; among them the Duke of Gloucester his brother, who afterwards called himself King Richard.*

The King had not a penny about him; and he gave the master of the ship a gown furred with fine marten-skins, promising to do better for him hereafter. Never was such a poor company; but the said Lord de la Gruthuyse did honourably by them, for he gave many gowns among them, and defrayed all their expenses as far as the Hague† in Holland, whither he conducted them. Afterwards he informed my Lord of Burgundy of this adventure, who was marvellously dismayed at the news, and would have much preferred his [Edward's] death: for he was in great anxiety about the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and had the mastery in England.

1470, Oct. 9.—Restoration of King Henry.

Warkworth, pp. 11, 12. [English.]

[King Henry was taken out of the Tower, Oct. 5. "The period of restoration" is dated from Oct 9, when writs were issued in his name, to the beginning of April, 1471.]

In the beginning of the month of October, the year of Our Lord 1470, the Bishop of Winchester, by the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick,‡ went to the Tower of London, where

* Richard was then about eighteen, having been born Oct 2, 1452. He was created Duke of Gloucester in 1461.

† Where Edward arrived Oct. 11.

‡ Comines intimates that it was all the doing of the Earl of Warwick, and that Clarence was ill-pleased.

King Harry was in prison, . . . and there took him from his keepers, which was not worshipfully arrayed as a prince, and not so cleanly kept as should beseem such a prince. They had him out, and new arrayed him, and did to him great reverence, and brought him to the palace of Westminster, and so he was restored to the crown again, and wrote in all his letters, writs, and other records, the year of his reign, "In the 49th year of the reign of King Henry VI., and in the first year of the restoration of his royal power."* Whereof all his good lovers were full glad, and the more part of people. Nevertheless, before that, at [the time when] he was put out of his realm by King Edward, all England for the more part hated him, and were full glad to have a change; . . . and all because of his false lords, and never of him; and the common people said, if they might have another King, he should get all again,† and amend all manner of things that was amiss, and bring the realm of England in great prosperity and rest. Nevertheless, when King Edward the Fourth reigned, the people looked after all the foresaid prosperities and peace, but it came not; but one battle after another, and much trouble and great loss of goods among the common people; as first, the fifteenth of all their goods, and then a whole fifteenth, yet at every battle [they had] to come far out of their counties at their own cost; and these and such other [causes] brought England right low, and

* Given by Warkworth in Latin.

† *I.e.*, recover the Continental possessions.

many men said that King Edward had much blame for hurting merchandise, for in his days they were not in other lands, nor within England, taken in such reputation and credence as they were afore.

1470, Oct. 18.—The Earl of Worcester put to death.

Warkworth, p. 13. [English.]

[John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, a man of scholarship and culture, who had studied at Oxford and at Padua, and had made translations from Cæsar and Cicero, brought upon himself bitter hatred as a Yorkist partisan. His especial sins were that in 1462 he, as Constable of England, had adjudged the Earl of Oxford and other Lancastrians to death by "law of Padua"—which probably means that he had applied the principles of the civil law in their trial—and that in ~~1469~~ 1470, not content with the customary barbarities of the sentence for treason, he had caused the bodies of twenty adherents of Clarence and Warwick to be exposed impaled upon stakes.]

And then was taken the Earl of Worcester, which was arrested and arraigned before Sir John Vere, the Earl of Oxford, son and heir to the foresaid Earl of Oxford which was beheaded at the Tower Hill, as before written; and so the Earl of Worcester was judged by such law as he did to other men; and when he was dead, his body and head were buried together at the Black Friars* in London, with all the honour and worship that his friends could do.

* In the church of the Black Friars, within a chapel of his own foundation.

Caxton's lament for the Earl of Worcester. Printed 1481.

Epilogue to the Orations of Cornelius Scipio, &c. In *Blades' Life and Typography of William Caxton*, Vol. I. pp. 163, 164. [English.]

And here I make an end of this matter for this time, praying and requiring all them that in this said work shall have any pleasure, that ye will remember him that translated it into our maternal and English tongue; and not only this said work, but the book of Tullius de Amicitiâ heretofore enprinted which treateth so well of Friendship and Amity. I mean the right virtuous and noble Earl, th' Earl of Worcester, which late piteously lost his life, whose soul I recommend unto your special prayers, and [who] also in his time made many other virtuous works which I have heard of. O good blessed Lord God, what great loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord! When I remember and advertise* his life, his science, and his virtue, methinketh, God not displeased, over-great a loss of such a man,† considering his estate and cunning,‡ and also th' exercise of the same, with the great labours in going on pilgrimage unto Jerusalem, visiting there the holy places that our blessed Lord Jesu Christ hallowed with His blessed presence. . . And what worship§ had he at Rome in the presence

* Consider.

† *I.e.* Methinks (if God be not displeased thereby) that the loss of such a man was too great.

‡ Knowledge, intelligence. § Honour, credit.

of our Holy Father the Pope; and so in all other places unto his death. At which death every man that was there might learn to die and take his death patiently; wherein I hope, and doubt not, but that God received his soul into His everlasting bliss; for, as I am informed, he right advisedly ordained all his things, as well for his last will of worldly goods, as for his soul's health; and patiently and holily, without grudging, in charity tofore that he departed out of this world; which is gladsome and joyous to hear. Then I here recommend his soul unto your prayers; and also that we at our departing may depart in such wise, that it may please our Lord God to receive us into His everlasting bliss. Amen.

1471, March 25.—Summons from the Earl of Warwick to resist the Yorkist invasion.

Richard, Earl of Warwick, to Henry Vernon, squire.—Hist. MSS. Commission.—MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, preserved at Belvoir Castle*, pp. 3, 4. [English.]

[Edward, having obtained money and ships from his brother-in-law of Burgundy, came back with a small force, landing at Ravenspurne† and Paull in Holderness on the 14th March, 1471. He was at first coldly received; but, marching southwards, at Nottingham and Leicester he was joined by his adherents in large numbers.]

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* Of Haddon. Mr. Maxwell Lyte, in his introduction to the volume from which this letter is taken, describes Henry Vernon as "a prudent courtier who seems to have found favour with Lancastrians and Yorkists in turn."

† On the left bank of the Humber, within Spurn Head. The coast having been washed away, no trace of Ravenspurne remains.

Right trusty and right well-beloved, I greet you well, and desire and heartily pray you that inasmuch as yonder man Edward, the King's our sovereign Lord great enemy, rebel, and traitor, is now late arrived in the north parts of this land and coming fast on southward accompanied with Flemings, Easterlings, and Danes, not exceeding the number of all that he ever hath of 2,000 persons,* nor the country as he cometh nothing falling to him,† ye will therefore, incontinent and forthwith after the sight hereof, dispose you toward me to Coventry with as many people defensibly arrayed as ye can readily make,‡ and that ye be with me there in all haste possible, as my very singular trust is in you, and as I may do [any] thing to your weal or worship hereafter. And God keep you. Written at Warwick the 25th day of March.

[*Postscript in the Earl's own hand.*]

Henry, I pray you, fail not now as ever I may do for you.

Th' Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, Lieutenant to the King our sovereign Lord Henry the Sixth.

[*Signed*] R. WARWICK.

* Warwick, with intent, no doubt, to rouse national feeling, implies that Edward's followers were all foreigners. On the other hand the Yorkist "History of the Arrival of King Edward IV." describes him as "accompanied with two thousand Englishmen, well chosen." Warkworth, a more impartial writer, says "nine hundred of Englishmen, and three hundred of Flemings with hand-guns."

† *I.e.*, the people of the country not joining him at all. The "Arrival" testifies that this was at first the case in Yorkshire.

‡ Raise, muster.

1471, March.—Clarence deserts the Lancastrian cause.

Warkworth, pp. 14, 15. [English]

[Being misled, it is said, by a letter from Clarence, the Earl of Warwick let Edward pass by Leicester and Coventry without a battle]

A little out of Warwick, met the Duke of Clarence with King Edward, with seven thousand men,* and there they were made accord, and made a proclamation forthwith in King Edward's name; and so all covenants of fidelity made betwixt the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, Queen Margaret, Prince Edward her son, both in England and in France, were clearly broken and forsaken of the said Duke of Clarence; which, in conclusion, was destruction both to him and them: for perjury shall never have better end, without great grace of God.

1471, April 11.—The Londoners admit Edward.

Warkworth, p. 15.

King Harry then was in London, and the Archbishop of York,† within the Bishop's of London palace. And on the Wednesday next before Easterday, King Harry and the Archbishop of York with him rode about London,‡ and desired the people to

* The author of the "Arrival" says "more than four thousand men."

† George Nevill, who had been translated from Exeter to York, March 15, 1465.

‡ Fabyan says that this display of the King "rather withdrew men's hearts than otherwise." It is probable therefore that by this time Henry was manifestly enfeebled in mind and body.

be true unto him; and every man said they would. Nevertheless, Urswick, Recorder of London, and divers aldermen, such that had rule of the city, commanded all the people that were in harness, keeping the city and King Harry, every man to go home to dinner; and in dinner time King Edward was let in, and so went forth to the Bishop's of London palace, and there took King Harry and the Archbishop of York,* and put them in ward, the Thursday next before Easter-day. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Berners,† and such other as owed King Edward good will, as well in London as in other places, made as many men as they might in strengthening the said King Edward; so then he was a 7,000 men, and there they refreshed well themself all that day and Good Friday.

Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, to Isabel, Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, In *Mlle. Dupont's Wavrin,* T. III., p. 211. [French.]

. . . So they [Edward and Clarence] drew towards London; and some their good servants and friends, being informed of this, undertook, on the morning of Wednesday in Holy Week,‡ to take the postern of the Tower of London; and in fact they

* The "Arrival" says that Archbishop Nevill "presented himself to the King's good grace," and delivered up to him "the usurper King Henry." See also the Duchess of Burgundy's letter following.

† These three were brothers, of the Bourchier family.

‡ In that year, April 10.

did take it and won the Tower. Those of the town, seeing this and also being aware that the King [Edward] was near, durst not stir, nor make any show, and let my lord and brother enter peaceably into the said town, Thursday following. And they went into Saint Paul's Church,* where were King Henry and the Archbishop of York. My lord and brother held out his hand to King Henry; but King Henry came and embraced him, saying:—"My cousin of York, right welcome: I take it that my life will not be in danger in your hands." And my said lord and brother answered him, that he need have no anxiety, and might be of good cheer. The Archbishop of York much excused himself towards my said lord and brother, by saying that he had never been against him, though he had indeed been consenting to the coming over of his brother of Warwick from France, not knowing that my said lord and brother was to be driven out of the country. . . . And finally, after his excuses were made, my said lord and brother went to my lady and mother, whom, together with the Queen and her son,† he brought into the said Tower of London.

* Edward did go to the Church, but it was in the Bishop's palace that he found Henry. See "Arrival" and Warkworth.

† Known in history as Edward V.; born Nov. 4 in the sanctuary of Westminster, in which the Queen had taken refuge during her husband's exile.

1471, April 14.—Battle of Barnet.

Arrival of King Edward IV., pp. 17-19. [English.]

Th' Earl of Warwick, calling himself Lieutenant of England, and so constitute by the pretended authority of King Henry, . . issued out of Coventry with a great puissance,* the lords and all that he might make with him, and by Northampton took their way after the King. . . . But the King . . . did great diligence to recounter him, ere he might come near to the city, as far from it as he goodly might; and therefore, with a great army,† he departed out of the city of London towards him, upon the Saturday, Easter's even, the 13th day of April. And so he took in his company to the field King Henry; and so, that afternoon, he rode to Barnet, ten miles out of London. . . . .

[At Barnet Edward found that his "afore-riders" or advanced horsemen had had a successful skirmish with the Earl of Warwick's "afore-riders," driving them back upon their main body, which was drawn up half a mile from the town.]

The King, . . . understanding all this, would [not] suffer one man to abide in the same town, but had them all to the field with them, and drew towards his enemies without the town. And for it was right dark, and he might not well see where his enemies were enbattled afore him, he lodged him and all his

* Power, force of armed men.

† Yet, further on, it is said that he had only 9000 men to 30,000 of "his rebels." Warkworth puts them at 20,000 against Edward's 7000. But Mr. Oman judges that each army must have numbered about 25,000 men. (*Warwick*, p. 228.)

host afore them much near[er] than he had supposed. . . . . Both parties had guns and ordnance; but th' Earl of Warwick had many more than the King, and therefore, on the night, weening greatly to have annoyed the King and his host with shot of guns, th' Earl's field shot guns almost all the night. But, thanked be God! it so fortuned that they alway overshot the King's host, and hurted them nothing; and the cause was, the King's host lay much nearer them than they deemed. And with that also the King and his host kept passing great silence all night, and made as who saith* no noise, whereby they might not know the very place where they lay. And for that they should not know it, the King suffered no guns to be shot on his side, all that night, or else right few, which was to him great advantage, for thereby they [Warwick's men] might have esteemed† the ground that he [Edward] lay in, and have levelled their guns near.

On the morrow betimes, the King, understanding that the day approached near, betwixt four and five of the clock, notwithstanding there was a great mist which letted‡ the sight of either other, yet he committed his cause and quarrel to Almighty God, advanced banners, did blow up trumpets, and set upon them, first with shot, and, then and soon, they joined and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and courageously received them. . . . Which

* As one might say. † Estimated, calculated.

‡ *I.e.*, hindered, prevented.

joining of their both battles was not directly front to front, as they so should have joined ne had be the mist,* which suffered neither party to see other but for a little space; and that of likelihood caused the battle to be the more cruel and mortal. . . .

[Part of Edward's troops, at the west end of the line, were defeated and chased by the Earl's, while at the east end and in the centre the King had the better—the combatants fighting blindly, without knowing how things were going. Comines tells us that in this battle Edward, contrary to his former practice, gave no quarter.]

Warkworth, pp. 16, 17.

There was such a great mist that neither of them might see other perfectly; there they fought, from four of clock in the morning unto ten of clock the forenoon. And divers times the Earl of Warwick's party had the victory, and supposed that they had won the field. But it happened so, that the Earl of Oxford's men had upon them their lord's livery, both before and behind, which was a star with streams,† which was much like King Edward's livery, the sun with streams; and the mist was so thick that a man might not profitly‡ judge one thing from another; so the Earl of Warwick's men shot and fought against the Earl of Oxford's men, weening and supposing that they had been King Edward's men; and anon the Earl of Oxford and his men cried "treason! treason!" and fled away from the

* *I.e.*, if it had not been for the mist.

† Rays, beams.

‡ To any profit? Or perhaps *perfectly*.

field with eight hundred men. The Lord Marquess Montague was agreed and appointed with King Edward, and put upon him King Edward's livery; and a man of the Earl's of Warwick saw that, and fell upon him, and killed him.* And when the Earl of Warwick saw his brother dead, and the Earl of Oxford fled, he leapt on horseback, and fled to a wood by the field of Barnet, where was no way forth; and one of King Edward's men had espied him, and one came upon him and killed him, and despoiled him naked.† And so King Edward gat that field. . . . . The Duke of Exeter fought manly there that day, and was greatly despoiled and wounded, and left naked for dead in the field, and so lay there from seven of clock till four after noon; which was taken up and brought to a house by a man of his own; and a leech brought to him, and so afterward brought into sanctuary at Westminster. . . . . And after that the field was done, King Edward commanded both the Earl of Warwick's body and the Lord Marquess' body to be put in a cart, and returned him with all his host again to London; and

* We need not attach much importance to this story of Montague's intended treachery, for "treason" is a cry which comes readily to the lips of men when they are losing. Wavrin enlarges on the personal prowess shown by Montague.

† The Duchess of Burgundy, in her letter already cited, reports that Warwick was made prisoner, and was being brought back by his captor, when some other men set upon him and slew him. She adds that Edward, being informed of the capture, hastened up to save him, but came too late.

there commanded the said two bodies to be laid in the church of Paul's, on the pavement, that every man might see them; * and so they lay three or four days, and afterward were buried. And King Harry, being in the forward † during the battle, was not hurt; but he was brought again to the Tower of London, there to be kept.

1471.—From a Burgundian song on King Edward's success.

Le Roux de Lincy's *Chants historiques et populaires du temps de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, pp. 167, 168. [French.]

[This song would seem to be by a Burgundian, or at least to have been composed to catch Burgundian ears, as it dwells especially on the anti-Burgundian designs of Louis XI. and "Wervic."]

Now Jesus my beginning speed!
Give ear to me, both great and small,
So please you list a gallant deed,
How Warwick and his party all
Have late been made in field to fall,
Conquered and slain.
Heart for ill doing ever fain
At last the sting of death shall gain.

The epitaph‡ upon this man

* This was done lest false reports should be spread about that they were still alive. See "Arrival," p. 21.

† Vanguard.

‡ The "epitaph" of the "Count of Warwick" is a long metrical composition, in French, in which he is made to set forth all his doings and misdoings, and especially his schemes against the Duke of Burgundy. *Chants historiques et populaires*, pp. 164-166; *Revolte du Conte de Warwick*, edited by Dr. Giles, pp. 48-50.

Hath all his scheming open laid,
How Warwick in his crafty plan
With France's King alliance made;
He thought to rob, in sudden raid,
Flanders, Artois,
Burgundy, Brabant, Boulenois,
Hainault, Holland, and Namurois.*

But God did hold His hand o'er all:
For good King Edward in his might
On Paschal Day, proud festival,
Displayed in field his banner bright,
With him the blood of leopard† wight,
In fair array,
Soundly he schooled the wild disray‡
Of Count and ancient King that day.

For all in battle on the field
The Count of Warwick there they slew;
His brother there his life did yield,
Marquess was he of Montague;
Exeter's Duke paid death his due;
King Henry there
Was captive made, as I declare,
And bishops five his lot did share.‖

* Dominions of the Duke of Burgundy.

† The lion passant gardant of the English Kings was in early heraldry called a leopard. The line means that the princes of the blood-royal were with Edward.

‡ *Desroy*, disray, disarray,—disorder in a military sense.

‖ The song-maker did not know of Exeter's escape, or understand that Henry was already in Edward's hands. The "five bishops" are perhaps a soldier's jest upon King Henry's pious tendencies.

1471, April 30.—After the Battle.

John Paston of Gelston * *to his mother Margaret Paston Gairdner's Paston Letters*, Vol. III., No. 670, pp. 6-8; *Fenn*, V. 3-6. [English.]

[Sir John Paston and his brother of the same name, sons of the previously mentioned Paston, having committed themselves to the cause of the restored Lancastrian dynasty, fought for it, probably in the Earl of Oxford's company, at Barnet, where the younger John, writer of the following, was wounded by an arrow in the right arm.]

After humble and most due recommendation, in as humble wise as I can, I beseech you of your blessing, praying God to reward you with as much pleasure and heart's ease as I have lateward caused you to have trouble and thought; and, with God's grace, it shall not be long ere my wrongs and other men's shall be redressed, for the world was never so like to be ours as it is now;† wherefore I pray you let Lomnor‡ not be too busy yet. Mother, I beseech you, an ye may spare any money, that ye will do your alms on me and send me some in as hasty wise as is possible; for by my troth my leechcraft and physic, and rewards to them that have kept me and conducted me to London, have cost me since Easter Day more than £5, and now I have neither meat, drink, clothes,

* Geldestone in Norfolk.

† The Pastons were hopeful of the success of Queen Margaret, who had landed on the 14th.

‡ William Lomnor was a cousin who seems to have adhered to Edward IV., and to have promised the Pastons his good offices in that quarter. But as it was still on the cards that the Lancastrian side might be the winning one, Lomnor was not to commit them too decidedly to the Yorkists.

leechcraft, nor money but upon borrowing; and I have assayed* my friends so far that they begin to fail now in my greatest need that ever I was in. Also, mother, I beseech you, an my horse that was at leechcraft at the Holt be not taken up for the King's hawks,† that he may be had home and kept in your place. . . .

. . . . . .

Item, that the horse that Purdy hath of mine be put to some good grass in haste; and if it please you to have knowledge of our royal person, I thank God I am whole of my sickness, and trust to be clean whole of all my hurts within a sevennight at the furthest, by which time I trust to have other tidings; and those tidings once had, I trust not to be long out of Norfolk, with God's grace, Whom I beseech preserve you and yours for my part.

Written the last day of April. . . .

Your humblest servant,

J. OF GELSTON.

1471, May 4.—Battle of Tewkesbury.

The Duke of Clarence to Henry Vernon, May 6.—*Duke of Rutland's MSS.*, p. 4. [English]

[On the day of the battle of Barnet, Queen Margaret and her son, with a body of Frenchmen, landed at Weymouth. Being joined by Edmund Duke of Somerset and other lords, she proceeded to Exeter, gathered about her the Cornwall and Devon men, and then, still collecting forces, moved on by Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester. Edward, marching from Windsor, came up with her army at Tewkesbury, May 3.]

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* Put to the proof, made application to.

† Not dead or slaughtered for [illegible] hawk's meat.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit that my lord hath had good speed now in his late journey to the subduing of his enemies, traitors, and rebels, of the which Edward, late called Prince, the late Earl of Devon with other estates,* knights, squires, and gentlemen, were slain in plain battle,† Edmund late Duke of Somerset taken and put to execution, and other diverse estates, knights, squires, and gentlemen taken.‡ And for so much as my said lord and we be fully purposed with the grace of Our Lord to come in all goodly haste into the north parts for th' establishment of peace, tranquility and restful rule and governance of the same, we desire and for your weal advise you, and also in my said lord's name charge you, to dispose you to come and attend upon us with so many men defensibly arrrayed as ye can make, and that at furthest ye be with us at Coventry the 12th day of this present month. Given under our signet at Tewkesbury the 6th day of May.

G. CLARENCE.

Arrival of K. Edward IV., pp. 28—30. [English.]

Upon the morrow following, Saturday, the 4th

* Men of rank.

† This statement as to Edward of Lancaster is not incompatible with Warkworth's story:—"And there was slain in the field Prince Edward, which cried for succour to his brother-in-law the Duke of Clarence." For other accounts see further on.

‡ Edmund Beaufort—the third Duke of Somerset who had perished in these wars—was, with fourteen others, beheaded at Tewkesbury, May 6, in violation, it was said, of a promise of life given by the King.

day of May, [the King] apparelled himself, and all his host set in good array; ordained three wards*; displayed his banners; did blow up the trumpets; committed his cause and quarrel to Almighty God, to our most blessed Lady his mother, Virgin Mary, the glorious martyr Saint George, and all the saints; and advanced directly upon his enemies; approaching to their field, which was strongly in a marvellous strong ground pight, full difficult to be assailed. Natheless the King's ordnance was so conveniently laid afore them, and his vanward so sore oppressed them with shot of arrows, that they gave them right a sharp shower. Also they did againward to them,† both with shot of arrows and guns, whereof natheless they had not so great plenty as had the King. In the front of their field were so evil lanes and deep dykes, so many hedges, trees, and bushes, that it was right hard to approach them near and come to hands; but Edmund, called Duke of Somerset,‡ having that day the vanward, . . . advanced himself with his fellowship somewhat aside-hand the King's vanward, and by certain paths and ways therefore afore purveyed‖ and to the King's party unknown, he departed out of the field, passed a lane, and came into a fair place or

* Drew up his army in three bodies.

† *I.e.*, they [the Lancastrians] returned them [the Yorkists] the same.

‡ The Yorkist writer is careful not to acknowledge the titles of noblemen whose honours had been forfeited under the Yorkist rule, though they had been restored by King Henry and his Parliament early in this year.

‖ Seen or surveyed beforehand.

close, even afore the King where he was enbattled, and from the hill that was in that one of the closes, he set right fiercely upon th' end of the King's battle. The King full manly set forth even upon them, entered and wan the dyke and hedge upon them, into the close, and with great violence, put them up towards the hill, and so also the King's vanward, being in the rule of the Duke of Gloucester.

[At this juncture, a "plump" or body of 200 spears, which Edward had posted to watch the corner of a wood nearly a quarter of a mile off, came up unexpectedly, and falling upon the Duke of Somerset's flank, put his men to rout.]

. . . And even at this point of their flight, the King courageously set upon that other field, where was chief Edward, called Prince, and in short while, put him to discomfiture and flight, and so fell in the chase of them that many of them were slain, and namely* at a mill in the meadow fast by the town were many drowned; many ran towards the town; many to the church; to the abbey; and elsewhere, as they best might.

In the winning of the field such as abode hand-strokes were slain incontinent; Edward, called Prince, was taken flying to the townwards,† and slain in the field. There was also slain Thomas, the Earl of Devonshire;‡ John of Somerset, called Mar-

* Especially.

† Towards the town.

‡ Properly *John* Courtenay, claiming to be 8th Earl of Devon. He had been preceded in the Earldom by two elder brothers, both of whom had been beheaded as Lancastrians.

quess of Dorset*; Lord Wenlock; with many other in great number.

Story of Edward of Lancaster's death.

From the Burgundian Song in Chants historiques et populaires, p. 169. [French.]

The Prince of Wales, made captive there,
Before the conqueror they bring;
Out spake King Edward, well aware,
"Mark me, Prince, and answer this thing,
"Dost thou know me for lord and King?"
"Now nay!" quoth he,
Returned him ill words, full and free,
So earned death for guerdon and fee.

[A chronicle which Sir W. Hardy looked upon as the first edition of Wavrin's sixth volume, gives, as a report merely, a similar story, but it does not appear in Wavrin's acknowledged Chronicles. Fabyan also has it. In both King Edward retaliates by giving a blow in the face to the youth, who thereupon is cut down by the men about the King.

Queen Margaret, who, during the battle, had remained not far off, "in a poor religious house," was captured two or three days after; and being now hopeless and broken-hearted, was treated with clemency. She died in her own land, Aug. 15, 1482.]

1471, May 21-24.†—Death of King Henry.

Warkworth, p. 21. [English.]

And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Harry, being in ward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the twenty-first day of May, on a Tuesday night, betwixt eleven and

* Younger brother of the last Duke of Somerset.

† Writers disagree as to the day.

twelve of the clock, being then at the Tower the Duke of Gloucester,* brother to King Edward, and on the morrow he was chested† and brought to Paul's, and his face was open that every man might see him; and in his lying he bled on the pavement there; and afterward at the Black Friars was brought, and there he bled new and fresh; and from thence he was carried to Chertsey Abbey in a boat, and buried there in Our Lady Chapel.

1473.—"Benevolences."

Third Contin. Hist. Crowland, pp. 557, 558. [Latin.]

[Edward was raising money for his expedition to France.]

During this Parliament [Oct. 6, 1472—March 14, 1475] . . . the King's chief efforts were directed towards animating the nobles and people to the French war: upon which matter many very eloquent speeches, especially on the side of the Duke of Burgundy, were delivered, both on home and foreign matters, before Parliament. And finally, everybody applauding the Royal wishes and highly extolling his regal intention, numerous tenths and fifteenths were granted, at several times as the case required, in assemblies of the clergy and of the laity who had to take part in making grants of this kind. Besides this, all owners of real property freely granted a tenth of their

* The suspicion that Richard of Gloucester either slew Henry with his own hand, or had him slain in his presence, was widely spread, for Comines, amongst others, mentions it. But the "Arrival" and Wavrin represent that Henry died of grief; while the "Brief Latin Chronicle" speaks of his dying "happily."

† Placed in a chest or coffin.

possessions. And when all that has been mentioned was found insufficient to meet such charges, there was introduced a new and unheard-of impost—that every man should give by *benevolence* that what he liked,—yea, more truly what he did not like.* The monies raised from so many and such large grants mounted up to sums the like of which were never before seen, nor is it probable that they will ever be seen in time to come.

1474.—Edward's return from France. 1475

Third Contin. Hist. Crowl. p. 559. [Latin.]

[Edward, after a conference with King Louis on the bridge of Picquigny, near Amiens, betook himself and his army home on consideration of 75,000 crowns down and a promised pension of 50,000.]

Indeed there was no kind of pledge, promise, or public oath, which King Louis would not willingly take upon himself for the execution of the terms agreed upon. Accordingly the lord King returned to England with honourable conditions of peace; for so they were deemed by the chiefs of the Royal army, although there is nothing so holy or so seemly that it cannot be distorted by evil speaking. For some immediately began to condemn what had been done; on account of which they paid the fitting penalty of their presumption. Others on their return

* This could be more accurately and forcibly translated into our older English—every man should give what he *would*, or rather what he *nould*.

home betook themselves to thefts and rapines,* so that throughout England no road was safe for merchants or for pilgrims.

Therefore the lord King himself was obliged to go all round his Kingdom with his judges, sparing no one, not even his own servant, from hanging in a halter, if he were caught in theft or homicide. By which rigorous justice, everywhere carried into execution, open robberies were put a stop to for a long time afterwards. But if the provident prince had not manfully resisted the beginnings of such evils, the number of people bitterly complaining about the ill-spent riches of the realm (in consequence of so much treasure being extorted from everybody's coffers, and so uselessly expended) would have so increased that no one would have known who, among the King's advisers, would have kept their heads safe—especially among those who, induced by the friendship or the gifts of the French King, had advocated the peace which had been thus entered upon.

1477-78.—The end of the Duke of Clarence.

Third Contin. Hist. Crowl. pp. 561-562. [Latin.]

The glory of this most prudent King was much reduced by a new dissension arising between him and his brother the Duke of Clarence. For the Duke was seen gradually more and more to withdraw himself from the King's presence, hardly to utter a word

* This was only to be expected in those days of an army disbanded under such circumstances. The men had spent their pay in France, and, having had no opportunity of booty there, compensated themselves at home.

in Council, and to be unwilling either to eat or drink in the King's house. Many thought the Duke's heart had been thus estranged from the former intimacy, on this account—that on the occasion of that general resumption which the King in Parliament had made* a little while ago, the Duke lost the Honour of Tutbury, as well as many other lands, which he had formerly obtained by royal grant. . . . .

. . . . . [After further disagreement—]

Now each began to look upon the other with eyes hardly fraternal. You might see (as such men are to be found in the courts of all princes), running between one party and the other, sycophants, who carried backwards and forwards the words of both brothers, even if they had been uttered in the most secret chamber. But the apprehension of the Duke, in order to compel him to answer the charges brought against him, happened in this wise. A certain Master Thomas Stacy, called an astronomer, whereas he had rather been a great necromancer, having plotted with a certain Burdet, esquire, one of the said Duke's household, was accused on many points, because he had moulded leaden images† and other things to the destruction of Richard, Lord Beauchamp, at the request of his adulterous wife. Being questioned

* An Act of Resumption, or taking back of the grants made by the Crown, had been passed in October, 1473.

† A common magical device. The image was melted with fire or pierced, the supposed effect being that the person it represented would at the same moment waste away or be struck with mortal pain.

in a very severe examination* as to the exercise of forbidden art of this kind, he confessed many things as well against himself as against the said Thomas [Burdet.] Consequently Thomas himself is likewise apprehended. And at length, at Westminster, in the King's Bench, the judges there sitting together with almost all the temporal lords of the realm, judgment of death is pronounced upon them both. They are drawn to the gallows at Tyburn, and being permitted to say briefly what they would before death, they declared their innocence : Stacy indeed faintly, but Burdet with great spirit and in many words, as though he would say at the last with Susanna, "Behold, I die, though I have done none of these things."†

On the following day the Duke of Clarence came to the Council-chamber at Westminster, bringing with him a famous doctor of the Order of Minorites,‡ Master William Godard, in order that he might recite the confession and declaration of innocence above-mentioned before the lords in that same council assembled ; which he did, and withdrew. The King at this time was at Windsor. When afterwards this matter became known to him the act highly displeased him ; and recalling to mind, what he had long laid up in his breast, the information

* This no doubt means that he was put to the torture. Though the law of England did not recognize torture, it was understood to be within the King's prerogative to inflict it, and it is known to have been resorted to under Edward IV.

† Dan. xiii., 43 [Vulgate]. Stacy and Burdet were executed July 20, 1477.

‡ Franciscans or "Grey Friars."

which had been given to him against his brother, the Duke was summoned to appear on a certain day in the royal palace of Westminster; and in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the King with his own lips began, amongst other matters, most vehemently to make the worst of the before-mentioned act of the Duke, as being in reprobation of the law of the realm, and exceedingly perilous to the judges and jurors of the realm. To make a short story—the Duke was placed in custody, and from that day to his death was not seen at liberty.

But what followed in the next Parliament* the mind shrinks from narrating: so sad appeared that dispute between two brothers of such gentle nurture. For no one made any charge against the Duke, except the King; no one made answer to the King, except the Duke. Some persons indeed were brought in, as to whom many were much puzzled whether they discharged the functions of accusers or of witnesses; for both functions at once do not befit the same persons in the same cause. The Duke met all the charges brought against him with a denial, offering, if he might be heard, to defend his cause with his hand.† Not to make a long story, the Parliament-men, deeming that the informations which they had heard were sufficient, passed upon him sentence of condemnation,‡ which was made known by the mouth of Henry

* The Parliament met Jan. 16, 1478.

† *I.e.*, he offered to clear himself by wager of battle.

‡ An Act of Attainder was passed against him.

Duke of Buckingham, newly appointed Seneschal of England for the occasion. After this, execution was long deferred, until the Speaker of the Commons, coming with his fellows to the Upper House, had made a fresh request for the accomplishment of the business: and consequently, within a few days, the punishment, of whatever kind it was, was carried out within the Tower of London (would it had been the end of evil!) in the year of the Lord 1478, and in the 18th of the reign of King Edward.

[Comines and Fabyan have preserved the rumour that the Duke was drowned in a barrel of malmsey.]

1482.—King Edward's Court.

Third Contin. Hist. Crowland, p. 563. [Latin.]

King Edward kept the following Christmas at his palace of Westminster, frequently clad in a variety of most costly garments, very different in form from those which have usually been seen before in our times. For the sleeves of the gowns were hanging and very full, after the manner of a monkish frock, and so lined inside with most sumptuous furs, that, being rolled back over the shoulders, they set forth that prince (who, as he was of very fine stature, towered above everyone) as a novel and singular spectacle to the beholders. You might have seen in those days the royal court such as befitted a most excellent kingdom, filled with riches, with men of almost all nations, and (wherein it transcended all) with handsome and most charming children sprung from the marriage with Queen Elizabeth.

1483.—Accession of Edward V. How Lord Hastings deceived himself.

Third Contin. Hist. Crowland, p. 566. [Latin.]

[Edward IV. died April 9, 1483. His young son Edward V. was at once brought up from Ludlow, where he had been keeping his court as Prince of Wales, to London to be crowned. On the way the Dukes of Gloucester and of Buckingham arrested the King's maternal uncle, Earl Rivers, his half-brother, Sir Richard Grey, and two gentlemen of his household. The effect of this *coup d' Etat* was to overthrow the Wydevile party, and to assure the ascendancy of the Duke of Gloucester, who was made Protector of the Realm.]

The feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist [June 24] being appointed as the fixed day upon which the King's coronation should without fail take place, all were hoping for and expecting the peace and prosperity of the realm. Yet what raised a serious doubt, was the detention of the King's kinsmen and servants in prison, and that the Protector was not looking with sufficient kindness after the honour and safety of the Queen.*

But Lord Hastings† (who appeared in every way zealously to serve those Dukes, and to have well earned the favours of both), breaking forth into joy at the newness of this world,‡ said that, so far, nothing had been done but the transferring of the

* On hearing of the arrests, Queen Elizabeth with her children had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster.

† Sir William Hastings, created in 1461 Baron Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, K.G. He had been Chamberlain to the late King.

‡ *I.e.*, at the complete change; at this "happy revolution," in more modern phrase.

government of the realm from two of the Queen's kin to two, more noble, of the King's kin; and this, too, accomplished without any slaughter, or as much blood being shed over the business as would have flowed from a single cut finger. But a very few days after these words, grief took the place of these extremes of joy. For (the Council having the day before been divided by the Protector with remarkable adroitness, so that on the morrow part should meet at Westminster, part in the Tower of London where the King was) Lord Hastings, on Friday the 13th of June, coming into the Tower to the Council, was beheaded by order of the Protector. And two of the greater prelates, Thomas Archbishop of York,* and John Bishop of Ely,† being, out of respect for their order, exempted from capital punishment, were sent prisoners to different castles in Wales. Thus, the three strongest stays of the new King being taken away without judgment or justice, and all others who were faithful to him fearing the like treatment, these two Dukes thenceforth did whatever they liked.

1483. June 13.—The story of Lord Hastings' death.

More, History of King Richard III. Pitt Press Series, pp. 45-48. [English.]

[The author is supposed to have obtained his information about this scene in the Council-chamber from Cardinal Morton, one of those who were then arrested by the Protector. But even so,

* Thomas Scott, called Rotherham from his birth-place. He died in 1500.

† Dr. Morton, afterwards Archbishop and Cardinal.

it is an account which was given many years after the event, by one who was not likely to be impartial; and it is not easy to accept all the details as historic.]

On the Friday . . . . many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in council, devising the honourable solemnity of the King's coronation. . . . These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merely that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely: "My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn,* I require† you let us have a mess‡ of them."—"Gladly, my lord," quoth he, "would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that." And therewith in all the haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The Protector set the Lords fast‖ in communing, and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed hence. And soon, after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed, with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and froting§ and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place; all the

* The name of Ely Place still marks where the London house of the Bishops of Ely stood.

† Request.

‡ Dish, portion.

‖ Engaged them deeply.

§ Chafing.

lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail.* Then when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: "What were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine† the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the King, and Protector of his royal person and his realm?" At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whom‡ this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the Lord Chamberlain [Hastings], as he that for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the other affirmed the same. "That is," quoth he, "yonder sorceress my brother's wife, and other with her," meaning the Queen. At these words many of the other Lords were greatly abashed‖ that favoured her. But the Lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moved by§ her,

* Richard, according to More's story, afterwards averred that it had then just come to his knowledge that Hastings and others had conspired to slay him and Buckingham while sitting in the Council.

† *Compass and imagine*, legal terms, taken from the Statute 25 Edw. III. St. 5, c. 2, (1351-2)—"When a man doth compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the King," &c. Blackstone holds that the terms are synonymous—"the word *compass* signifying the purpose or design of the mind or will, and not, as in common speech, the carrying such design to effect."

‡ "Concerning whom," or "against whom."

‖ Taken aback, staggered.

§ Against.

than by any other whom he loved better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsel* in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death.† . . . . Then said the Protector: "Ye shall see in what wise that sorceress and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife,‡ with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body." And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a werish‖ withered arm and small, as it was never other.§ And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist that the Queen was too wise to go about any such folly. And also if she would, yet would she of all folk least make Shore's wife of counsel, whom of all women she most hated. . . . . And also no man was there present, but well knew that his arm¶ was ever such since his birth.

* Taken into counsel.

† Rivers, Grey, and their two companions were beheaded at Pontefract—on the same day, according to More's History, as Lord Hastings; but this statement is disproved as regards Rivers by the fact that his will bears date June 23. As the author was in error on this point, his assertion that Hastings was consenting to the execution should not be received without further evidence.

‡ Jane Shore, a citizen's wife of London, who had been one of the mistresses of Edward IV.

‖ Interpreted as *mis-shapen, deformed.*

§ As it had always been.

¶ The edition of 1557 reads wrongly "harme."

Natheless the Lord Chamberlain answered and said: "Certainly, my Lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment." "What," quoth the Protector, "thou servest me, I ween, with 'if's' and with 'and's'*—I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor."† And therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap. At which token given, one cried "treason" without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the Protector said to the Lord Hastings: "I arrest thee, traitor." "What, me, my Lord?" quoth he. "Yea, thee, traitor," quoth the Protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley,‡ which shrank at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth: for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers, except the Lord Chamberlain, whom the Protector bade speed and shrive him apace; "for, by Saint Paul," quoth he, "I will not to dinner till I see thy head off." It

* *And* (now usually written, for distinction, *an*) had the sense of *if*.

† Prove on thy body—the expression of a man offering to prove his assertion by wager of battle.

‡ Thomas, 2nd Baron Stanley, who had married for his second wife Margaret, the widowed Countess of Richmond. He was thus stepfather to the future King Henry VII., by whom he was created Earl of Derby.

booted him not to ask why, but heavily* he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to dinner; which he might not go to till this were done for saving of his oath. So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his body with the head interred at Windsor beside the body of King Edward, whose both souls Our Lord pardon.

1483, June 21.—A letter of news.

Simon Stallworthe to Sir William Stonor, Knight. Excerpta Historica, No. viii., pp. 16, 17. [English].

[The writer is supposed to have been one of the officials of John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, then Chancellor. Stonor appears to have been Bailiff or Steward of the Manor of Thame in Oxfordshire, belonging to the see of Lincoln.]

Worshipful Sir, I commend me to you, and, for tidings, I hold you happy that ye are out of the press, for with us is much trouble, and every man doubts other; as on Friday last† was the Lord Chamberlain

* Sadly, sorrowfully.

† June 21, 1483, being a Saturday, "Friday last" would in strictness be June 20. On this evidence mainly, Mr. Clements R. Markham concludes that "Lord Hastings was not beheaded until a week after his arrest" [*Eng. Hist. Review*. April, 1891, p. 263]. But such a phrase as "Friday last" is often used inaccurately, even by witnesses in court, and it is most probable that Stallworthe meant Friday the previous week, *i.e.*, June 13, which would agree with the explicit statement of the Crowland Historian.

headed soon upon noon. On Monday last [June 16] was at Westminster great plenty of harnessed men; there was the deliverance of the Duke of York* to my Lord Cardinal,† my Lord Chancellor, and many other Lords Temporal; and with him met my Lord of Buckingham in the midst of the Hall of Westminster; my Lord Protector receiving him at the Star-chamber‡ door with many loving words, and so departed with my Lord Cardinal to the Tower, where he is, blessed be Jesu, merry. The Lord Lisle‖ is come to my Lord Protector, and awaits upon him. It is thought there shall be 20,000 of my Lord Protector['s] and my Lord of Buckingham['s] men in London, to what intent I know not, but to keep the peace. My Lord§ hath much business, and more than he is content withal, if any other ways would be taken. The Lord Archbishop of York [and] the Bishop of Ely are yet in the Tower with

* Richard, second son of Edward IV.; born August 17, 1473; created Duke of York 1474. He had been taken by his mother with her into sanctuary, but pressure being put upon her, she delivered him up to join his brother in the Tower.

† Archbishop Bourchier, who became Cardinal of Saint Cyriacus in 1464. He died in 1486.

‡ A room so called, afterwards famous as giving its name to the court which sat in it.

‖ Sir Edward Grey, created Baron de L'Isle, 1475; raised to the dignity of Viscount on June 28, 1483—no doubt as the reward of his coming over to the Protector's party. He was the brother of Queen Elizabeth's first husband.

§ Presumably Bishop Russell.

Master Oliver King*. . . . There are men in their places for sure keeping,† and I suppose that there shall be sent men of my Lord Protector to these Lords' places in the country. They are not like to come out of ward yet. . . Mistress Shore is in prison; what shall happen her I know not. I pray you pardon me of more writing; I am so sick that I may not well hold my pen; and Jesu preserve you. From London, the 21st day of June, by the hands of your servant,

SIMON STALLWORTHE.

All the Lord Chamberlain's men become my Lord's of Buckingham men.

To the right worshipful Sir William Stoner, Knight.

[The Protector, having thrust aside his brother Edward's children on the ground of their alleged illegitimacy, took possession on June 26 of the throne as King Richard III. History can hardly be said to know aught of the fate of his two young nephews. The story which has won general acceptance—that the sleeping children were smothered by murderers employed by Sir James Tyrrel at Richard's instigation—was told long afterwards in More's History, when Tyrrel, who is averred to have confessed the deed, was dead. An early, perhaps a contemporary ballad-maker represents "Lady Bessy"—*i.e.*, Elizabeth of York—appealing to Lord Stanley:—

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* Oliver King had been secretary to Edward IV. He afterwards, in 1492, became Bishop of Exeter, and was translated to Bath and Wells in 1495.

† *I.e.*, their town houses had been taken possession of by the Protector's men.

" Help, father Stanley, I do you pray,
For of King Richard wroken* will I be;
He did my brethren to the death on a day,
In their bed where they did lie;
He drowned them both in a pipe of wine,
It was dole to hear and see!"
Song of Lady Bessy, Percy Soc., vol. xx., p. 44.]

1483, *c.* Sept.—King Richard's popularity.

Extract from a letter of Dr. Thomas Langton, Bishop of Saint David's, to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury. Christ Church Letters, No. xlii., pp. 45, 46, Camden Soc. 1867, N.S. xix. [English.]

[This letter was presumably written about the middle of September, when Dr. Langton was at York with the King.]

. . . . I trust to God ye shall hear such tidings in haste that I shall be an Englishman and no more Welsh.†—*Sit hoc clam omnes.*‡ The King of Scots‖ hath sent a courteous and a wise letter to the King for his case, but I trow ye shall understand they shall have a sit up or ever the King depart from York. They lie still at the siege of Dunbar,§ but I trust to God it shall be kept from them. I trust to God soon, by Michaelmas, the King shall be at London, He contents the people where he goes

* Avenged.

† An intimation of expected translation from his Welsh bishopric to an English one.

‡ Let this be secret from everybody.

‖ James III.

§ The Castle of Dunbar was at that time in possession of the English, and was besieged by the Scots. A three years' truce was concluded in 1484.

best that ever did prince; for many a poor man that hath suffered wrong many days have been relieved and helped by him and his commands in his progress.* And in many great cities and towns were great sums of money given him which he hath refused. On my troth I liked never the conditions† of any prince so well as his; God hath sent him to us for the weal of us all. . . . Our Lord have you in his keeping. I would as fain have been consecrate in your church as ye would have had me your

T. LANGTON.

. . . . . .

To my Lord the Prior of Christchurch of Canterbury.

1484.—An Act to Free the Subjects from Benevolences.

1. *Ric. III. c.* 2. [*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. ii., p. 478, English version.]

[Richard held his Parliament at Westminster on the 23rd January.]

The King remembering how the Commons of this his Realm by new and unlawful Inventions and inordinate Covetise, against the law of this realm, have been put to great thraldom and importable charges and exactions, and in especial by a new imposition named a benevolence, whereby diverse years the Subjects and Commons of this land against their Wills and freedom have paid great Sums of Money to

* Richard was making a progress through the midland and northern counties.

† Manners, character. We still say "ill-conditioned."

their almost utter destruction ; For diverse and many worshipful men of this realm by occasion thereof were compelled by necessity to break up their households and to live in great penury and wretchedness their debts unpaid and their children unpreferred, and such memorials as they had ordained to be done for the wealth of their souls were anentised* and annulled, to the great displeasure of God and to the destruction of this realm ; Therefore the King will it be ordained, by the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that his subjects and the Commonalty of this his Realm from henceforth in nowise be charged by none such Charge or imposition called benevolence, nor by such like charge ; And that such exactions called benevolences, afore this time taken be taken for no example to make such or any like charge of any his said subjects of this Realm hereafter, but it be dampned† and annulled for ever.

[Yet Richard himself, according to the Crowland historian, had recourse the next year to "Benevolences."]

1484.—Importation of Books.

"*An Act touching the Merchants of Italy.*" 1. *Ric. III. c.* 9. [*Statutes of the Realm*, II. 493, English version.]

[The Act places restraints upon alien merchants and handicraftsmen.]

. . . Provided alway that this Act or any part thereof, or any other Act made or to be made in this

* Brought to nought.

† Condemned.

present parliament, in no wise extend or be prejudicial, any let,* hurt, or impediment to any Artificer or merchant stranger of what Nation or Country he be or shall be of, for bringing into this Realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, of any manner books written or imprinted, or for the inhabiting within the said Realm for the same intent, or to any writer limner† binder or imprinter of such books, as he hath or shall have to sell by way of merchandise, or for their abode in the same Realm for the exercising of the said occupations; this Act or any part thereof notwithstanding.

1484. – The cruel death of Colyngbourne.

Fabyan, Pt. vii, Ric. III., p. 672. [English.]

[William Colyngbourne, a Wiltshire gentleman, had been a secret agent in promoting the revolt of the Duke of Buckingham and the intended invasion of Henry of Richmond in 1483, and had managed to get inflammatory verses posted on the doors of Saint Paul's. In the autumn of 1484 he was tried by a commission and condemned to death. It would seem that the legal barbarities of the ancient punishment for treason were inflicted upon him with unwonted rigour. See Mr. Gairdner's *Life and Reign of Richard III.*, 2nd ed., pp. 234–241.]

While these foresaid gentlemen‡ of diverse coasts of England escaped . . . over the sea, of that affinity was one named William Colyngbourne taken, and after he had been holden a season in prison, he, with another gentleman named Turbervile‖ were

* Hindrance.

† French *alluminour*, illuminator of MSS. or books.

‡ Men implicated in the Duke of Buckingham's unsuccessful revolt, who fled to join Henry of Richmond in Brittany.

‖ Of Dorset.

brought unto Guildhall, and there arraigned ; but the said Turbervile was reprieved to prison, and that other was cast* for sundry treasons : and for a rime which was laid to his charge, that he should make† in derision of the King and his council, as followeth.

The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog,
Ruleth all England under a hog.

The which was meant that Catesby,‡ Ratcliffe,‖ and the Lord Lovel§ ruled the land under the King, which bare the white boar for his cognizance. For the which and other [causes] . . . he was put to the most cruel death at the Tower Hill, where for him were made a new pair of gallows. Upon the which after he had hanged a short season, he was cut down, [and was hacked and mangled while yet living] . . . insomuch that he said in the same instant, "O Lord Jesu, yet more trouble," and so died, to the great compassion of much people.

* Convicted.

† That he was alleged to have made.

‡ William Catesby, Esquire for the King's body ; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1484 ; beheaded after the battle of Bosworth, 1485.

‖ Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Knight.

§ Sir Francis Lovel, 9th Baron Lovel, of Tichmersh ; created a Viscount 1483. He supported Lambert Simnel against Henry VII., and disappears from history after his defeat at Stoke in 1487.

1485, Aug. 11.—Summons to resist the Invasion of the Earl of Richmond.*

King Richard III. to Henry Vernon, squire for his body, Richard Vernon, and . . . Vernon, squires. Duke of Rutland's MSS., pp. 7, 8. [English.]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as our rebels and traitors accompanied with our ancient enemies of France and other strange nations, departed out of the water of Seine the first day of the present month, making their course westwards, be landed at Nangle besides Milford Haven in Wales on Sunday last passed, as we be credibly informed, intending our utter destruction, th' extreme subversion of this our realm and disheriting of our true subjects of the same; towards whose recountring, God being our guide, we be utterly determined in our own person to remove† in all haste goodly that we can or may. Wherefore we will and straitly charge you that ye in your person with such number as ye have promised unto us, sufficiently horsed and harnessed, be with us in all haste to you possible, to give unto us your attendance without failing, all manner excuses set apart, upon pain of forfeiture unto us of all that ye may forfeit and lose. Given under our signet at our lodge of Beskwood‡ the 11th day of August. *Sign manual.*

* Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, soon to be King Henry VII., had set sail from Harfleur, Aug. 1., with a small force of English refugees and French soldiers, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th.

† Set forth.

‡ In Nottinghamshire.

1485, Aug. 22.—Battle of Bosworth.

Third Contin. Hist. Crowland, pp. 573, 574. [Latin.]

[King Richard, having mustered his army at Nottingham, advanced to Leicester to meet his adversary.]

On the Sunday* before the feast of the Apostle Bartholomew, the King, in full state, wearing the crown on his head, accompanied by John Howard, Duke of Norfolk,† and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland,‡ and other gallant lords, knights, and esquires, and an infinite multitude of common folk, having marched out of Leicester town, and being well informed by scouts where the enemy would most likely halt on the following night, encamped at a distance of about eight miles from that town, near the Abbey of Mirival. . . . . .

At daybreak on Monday, when the chaplains on King Richard's side were not ready to celebrate, nor was any breakfast prepared to revive the King's flagging soul, and he (as is asserted) had had that night frightful dreams in which he was as it were surrounded by a multitude of dæmons (as he testified in the morning), he presented himself with a face which, always attenuated, was then more pale and deathlike than usual. He affirmed that the issue of this day's battle, to whichever side victory might be granted, would utterly destroy the realm of England; and declared that it was his intention, if he came off conqueror, to bring to confusion all the partizans of

* August 21.

† So created by King Richard, June 28, 1483.

‡ Son of the Earl who fell at Towton.

the other side; and he predicted that his adversary would do the same towards the well-wishers of his [Richard's] own party, if the victory should fall to him. At length, the prince and knights of the opposite party advancing at a moderate pace upon the King's army, he commanded that the before-mentioned Lord L'estrange* should be immediately beheaded. Those, however, to whom this duty was assigned, seeing the matter in hand to be doubtful in the extreme, and of more importance than the destruction of a single man, put off the execution of the King's cruel order, and leaving the man at large, returned within the line of battle. Then, a most fierce fight having begun between the two parties, the Earl of Richmond with his knights advanced straight upon King Richard; while the chief man after him, the Earl of Oxford, a most valiant knight, accompanied by a great following both of French and English, made for that wing where the Duke of Norfolk was posted.† But where the Earl of Northumberland was standing with a large and well-appointed force, there was no fighting, not a blow being given or taken. At last a glorious victory was given from heaven to the Earl of Richmond, now sole King, together with the very costly crown which King

* Lord Stanley's eldest son George, whom Richard held as a hostage for his father's doubtful fidelity. When Lord Stanley, who was secretly pledged to Richmond, did not bring up his forces, Richard knew that he was going to play him false.

† Norfolk fell, fighting gallantly, and his son the Earl of Surrey, the future victor of Flodden, was taken prisoner.

Richard had previously worn on his head. For in the midst of the fighting, and not in flight, the said King Richard, stricken with many deadly wounds, fell in the field like a high-spirited and most daring prince.

The Ballad-singer's Story.

"*Bosworth Field*," ll. 585-600, in Hales and Furnivall, III., 256-257. [English.]

Then to King Richard there came a knight,*
And said, "I hold it time for to flee;
For yonder Stanleys' dints they be so wight,
Against them no man may dree.†
"Here is thy horse at thy hand ready;
Another day thou may thy worship win,
And for to reign with royalty,
To wear the crown, and be our King."

[King Richard answers,]

"Give me my battle-axe in my hand,
Set the crown of England on my head so high!
For by Him that shope‡ both sea and land,
King of England this day will I die!
"One foot will I never flee
Whilst the breath is my breast within!"
As he said, so did it be;
If he lost his life, he died a King.‖

* Called Sir William of Harrington in the "Song of Lady Bessy."

† Endure, hold out.

‡ Shaped, made.

‖ *Orig.*, "if he were King." But the meaning evidently is as above.

1485.—After the Battle.

Third Contin. Hist. Crowland, pp. 574, 575. [Latin.]

The body of the said King Richard being found among the other dead, . . . it was carried away to Leicester, in a manner not sufficiently consonant with humanity, for a rope was cast about the neck; while the new King, graced with the crown so nobly acquired, went on to Leicester.

Lines from the Contin. Hist. Crowland. pp. 575, 576. [Latin.]

One thousand, four hundred, fourscore and five,
So tell the year, and count the August days,
Double eleven: 't was then the Boar's tusks fail'd;
The Red Rose glows, avenger of the White.

[Henry VII. was crowned King, October 30, 1485, and "united the Roses" by his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth of York, January, 18, 1486.]

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT OF AUTHORS CITED AND BOOKS QUOTED.

JOHN BLAKMAN.

"Master John Blakman" is described as a Bachelor of Theology and a monk of the Charterhouse in London. From himself we know that he was in priest's orders, and that he had assisted Henry VI. in his pious studies. He had thus opportunities for collecting material for the panegyric which is known as *Blakman de Virtutibus et Miraculis Henrici VI.*—a wordy and disjointed production (perhaps only notes for a larger work), but of interest as giving personal traits. It has the disadvantage of being written after Henry's sufferings and death had cast the glamour of saintship over him, and of being written with a purpose – for it is supposed to have been drawn up in or about 1504 to further Henry VII 's attempt to obtain the formal canonization of the last Lancastrian King. Nevertheless, at times it unintentionally reveals the weak side of the pious prince.

Blakman's work was published by Thomas Hearne in 1732 at the end of his edition of Otterbourne (*Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Vol. I. Oxford, 1732)

THOMAS GASCOIGNE, D.D.

Thomas Gascoigne was born on the 5th January, 1404, at Hunslet, then a hamlet near Leeds, and now part of the town. His father, who was the possessor of the manor of Hunslet,

seems to have died while the son was still young, leaving him well provided for. Gascoigne entered Oxford probably about 1416, at the age of twelve – an age in those days considered not too early for academic studies; and in Oxford he spent his life, residing in Oriel College. He took priest's orders in 1427, and was at one time rector of Dighton (probably Kirk Deighton in the West Riding); but he resigned this benefice before 1446. In Oxford he was held in high honour, being twice Chancellor of the University, and a third time elected to that office. He was a benefactor to his college, contributing money towards the buildings and books to the library. Balliol, Lincoln, and Durham Colleges also received from him gifts of books. He died March 13, 1458, and was buried in the ante-chapel of New College.

The extracts are derived from *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, edited by Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881). This is a selection from Gascoigne's "Theological Dictionary," or "Truths collected from Holy Scripture and the Writings of other Saints," which he wrote at intervals between 1434 and and 1457, and which exists in two MS. volumes in the library of Lincoln College Though the work mainly deals with theological and moral subjects, it also contains passages on political and social matters, and is often so outspoken that it is no marvel it was not brought before the world. Gascoigne's vehement hostility to ecclesiastical abuses had nothing in common with doctrinal heresy; on the contrary, he was a strong opponent of Wycliffites and all other heretics. His orthodoxy gives all the more weight to his testimony with regard to prevalent evils in the Church; but at the same time allowance must be made for his evident tendency to paint in dark colours. His work, interesting in many ways, is also curious as a specimen of the colloquial Latin of 15th century Oxford.

In addition to Prof. Rogers' above-named volume, the article "Gascoigne," by Mr. Reginald Lane Poole in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vol. XXI., pp. 41-43) should be consulted.

REGINALD PECOCK, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

Reginald or Reynold Pecock, who must have been born about the end of the 14th century, is described as a Welshman, of the diocese of Saint David's. He was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford, Oct. 30, 1417; was ordained priest in 1421; and in 1431 was promoted to the Mastership of Whittington College, London. This he held till in 1444 he was raised to the Bishopric of Saint Asaph, whence in 1450 he was translated to Chichester.

Pecock was a man who kept himself before the public, and who was evidently proud of his controversial powers. Unluckily, his method of exercising them was such as to please no religious party. He was an assiduous writer of books designed to convince the Lollards of their errors; and his main line of argument was held to be itself heretical. It seems, however, to have been a political imprudence that at last, in 1457, brought upon him all his enemies, lay and ecclesiastical. Under fear of fire and faggot, Pecock recanted everything that he was bidden to recant, everything that his foes chose to attribute to him. His subsequent history is involved with nice questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which are not without their importance in our own day. It is enough here to say that, whether he resigned or not, in 1459 his bishopric was given to another. He himself was sent to the Abbey of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, with directions that he should be kept in solitary confinement, with no books save the Bible, the breviary, and a few other books of prayer or devotion, and that he should "have nothing

to write with, nor stuff to write upon"—a painful deprivation to so ready and zealous an author.

Pecock's chief work is *The Repressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy*, written in English, with the purpose of showing the reasonableness of the practices for which the "lay party" or "Bible-men," *i.e.*, the Lollards, attacked the clergy. It was his exaltation of reason, in preference to the authority of the Church or of the Scriptures, that especially gave offence.

The *Repressor* was printed for the first time in 1860, from the MS. in the Cambridge University Library, being edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington for the Rolls series (2 vols.).

CHRONICLES OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT ALBANS.

The Register of the Second Abbacy of John Whethamstede.

The Abbey of Saint Albans, "once the great nursing-mother of annalists," had for many years ceased to foster chroniclers and historians. It seems to have been almost by accident that the Register of the second Abbacy of John Whethamstede became to some extent a history of the wars of York and Lancaster. Evidently it was the fact that Saint Albans, well-nigh to its ruin, was the scene of two battles, which forced general politics upon the attention of the registrar. He is grievously verbose and flowery in style, addicted to ill-timed display of Scriptural and classic lore; but whatever may be thought of his manner, he has preserved a fair amount of interesting matter. His contributions to public history (as distinguished from the private history of the Abbey) begin with a retrospect of the causes which led to the first battle of Saint Albans, and end with the great Act of Attainder in the first year of Edward IV.

This Register has gone under the name, and has been considered as the work of, John Bostock, called, after his birth-

place, Whethamstede, who was elected Abbot in 1420, and again in 1452, and who died at a great age in January, 1465. But the Rolls editor, Mr. H. T. Riley, has come to the conclusion that the Register, as we have it, is a compilation made after Whethamstede's death, though before 1476. A series of extracts from "Whethamstede" was published by Hearne in 1732; but the work is now always cited from the complete edition in the Rolls series (*Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede*, 2 vols., 1872-3). The political history is contained in the first volume.

ANONYMOUS CHRONICLES.

(1) Latin Chronicle edited by Dr. Giles in 1848 from MSS. in the British Museum. [*Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliæ de Regnis trium Regum Lancastrensium, Henrici IV., Henrici V., et Henrici VI.* . . London: D. Nutt.] It extends from the coronation of Henry IV. to 1455.

(2.) *A Chronicle of London, from* 1089 *to* 1483; *written in the Fifteenth Century*. [Edited by Sir N. Harris Nicolas.] London, 1827.

(3). *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Gairdner, 1880. (New Series, XXVIII.) In this volume are:—"*A Short English Chronicle*," *from Lambeth MS.* 306. "*Brief Notes of Occurrences under Henry VI. and Edward IV.*," *from MS. Lambeth*, 448. "*A Brief Latin Chronicle*," *from MS. Arundel* 5, *College of Arms*. The first and last are of Yorkist tendency. The English Chronicle begins to be of value as an original authority from the time of Cade's rebellion, and extends to the capture of King Henry VI. The "Brief Notes," which come to an end in the year 1462, appear to have been jotted down within the monastery of Ely, to serve as material for a future chronicle. The "Brief Latin

Chronicle," as printed, extends from the accession of Henry VI. to Whitsuntide, 1471.

(4.) *Account of the first Battle of Saint Albans*, from a MS. which was found in the Tower, among private letters and accounts of Sir William Stonor, Knight, who was a steward of the Abbot of Saint Albans. Mr. Bayley, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, was of opinion that the MS. was in Stonor's handwriting. Printed in *Archæologia*, vol. XX., and in Mr. Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, vol. I

(5) *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Written before the Year* 1471. . . *Edited by the Rev, John Silvester Davies, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford.* (Camden Soc., No. LXIV , 1856). The author was manifestly a strong Yorkist.

(6) "Hearne's Fragment," so called from its fragmentary condition and the name of its editor, was printed by Hearne at the end of his edition of Sprott's Chronicles, Oxford, 1719; and it will also be found, modernized in spelling, in *The Chronicles of the White Rose of York*, (edited by Dr. Giles), published by Bohn in 1845. The author represents himself as writing from personal knowledge or from information derived from King Edward's own lips. There is indication that he wrote not earlier than 1514.

(7) *History of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England, and the final Recovery of his Kingdoms from Henry VI.* This tells the tale of the restoration of Edward from his setting sail from Flushing to the 26th May, 1471. According to the preamble, it was "compiled . . . by a servant of the King's that presently saw in effect a great part of his exploits, and the residue knew by true relation of them that were present at every time." It is in fact what would now be called the "semi-official" Yorkist account. In the next century a narrative, to which was given

the Lancastrian colouring then in favour, was made up from it, and was inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle. In its genuine Yorkist form, the "Arrival" was edited in 1838 by Mr. John Bruce for the Camden Society (I.); and it appears modernized in *Chronicles of the White Rose.*

(8) *Continuations of the Crowland* (or *Croyland*) *History, i.e.,* of the spurious history attributed to Abbot Ingulf. The second and third continuations are of real value for the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. The second continuator represents himself as Prior of Crowland; and the third is stated to have been a doctor of canon law who was one of King Edward's council. His history shows him as a Yorkist who was indignant at the revolutionary assumption of power by Richard III., and who regarded Henry of Richmond as the avenger of Edward's children. These continuations are printed in the first (sometimes called the third) or Fulman's volume of Gale's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, Oxford, 1684. A translation with notes by Henry T. Riley, Esq., was published in 1854 by Bohn (*Ingulph's Chronicle with the Continuations*).

ROLLS OF PARLIAMENT AND STATUTES.

(1.) *Rotuli Parliamentorum*; *ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento.* (The Rolls of Parliament; with Petitions and Pleas in Parliament). Published by Government, 6 vols., folio, extending from Edward I. to Henry VII inclusive. These are printed from the manuscript registers of Parliament.

(2.) *Statutes of the Realm. . . from Magna Charta to the end of the Reign of Queen Anne.* 10 vols. in 11, fol., published by the Record Commissioners, 1810-28.

"GREGORY'S CHRONICLE."

This belongs to the class of London city chronicles, which were drawn up in the form of annals, reckoning the year from

the beginning of one mayoralty to another. The earlier part of "Gregory's Chronicle" is derived from sources common to it and other city chronicles; but from 1440-41 it begins to be an original authority. From that point to 1451-52, the author appears to have been William Gregory of the Skinners' Company. He was born probably not later than 1410, was Mayor of London in 1451-52, and his will was proved on the 23rd January, 1457. The editor, Mr. Gairdner, thinks that Gregory gave up writing in the year of his mayoralty, and that, several years later, his work was transcribed and continued by another hand. The MS. breaks off under the year 1469, in the middle of a sentence. It is printed in Mr. Gairdner's *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London* (Camden Society, N. S., XVII., 1876).

Neither Gregory nor his continuator write like men of literary training or men possessed of political insight; but they can give in homespun English a lively account of what they saw or heard; they are good Londoners, proud of their city, jealous for its honour; good Englishmen too, albeit after a somewhat blind and unintelligent fashion. Both are Yorkists; but partisanship becomes more pronounced in the continuation.

WILLIAM WORCESTER.

William Worcester or Wyrcestre, or, as he often called himself, after his mother's maiden name, Botoner, was born in Bristol in 1415, went to Oxford in 1432, and for four years was a student of Hert Hall. He then entered the service of Sir John Fastolf, Knight, of Caister in Norfolk, a man of note in the French wars, and winner of the "Battle of the Herrings" in 1429. Worcester acted as Sir John's secretary, and as steward of his Wiltshire manor of Castle Combe; and though he found the old warrior a hard and grudging master, he

remained with him till his death in 1459. Finally Worcester settled in his native town and died probably about 1484. He was a man of literary tastes and acquirements; and students of history are indebted to him for his collection of papers relative to the wars in France and Normandy, and his Latin *Annals of English Affairs*, which, though dry, are of great use for the York and Lancaster period, down to 1468. They are printed in Vol. II., Pt. II., of *The Wars of the English in France*, edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, 1864, Rolls series.

THE PASTON AND OTHER LETTERS.

"The Paston Letters" are so called as being letters and papers once in the possession of the Paston family in Norfolk, and mostly written by or to members of that family during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Four volumes of them were published in 1787 and 1789 by Sir John Fenn, of East Dereham in Norfolk; and a fifth volume was brought out in 1823 by his nephew. But the standard edition is now that edited by Mr. Gairdner, 1872-75, 3 vols, in which more than five hundred additional letters and papers are given to the world, the whole being re-arranged in chronological order.

John Paston, a landed esquire of Norfolk, was the eldest son of William Paston, a judge of the Common Pleas, who was honourably known as "the Good Judge." John, who at the age of four and twenty, on his father's death in 1444, became head of the family, was a supporter of the Duke of York, and was twice returned as knight of the shire for Norfolk. After an active and troublous life, largely taken up with law-suits and private war, he died on the 21st or 22nd May, 1466. With a great want of consideration for future readers of the family correspondence, he had called his two elder sons by his own Christian name. These two Johns, of whom the elder was born in 1442, and knighted

in 1463, committed themselves, during the brief restoration of Henry VI., to the Lancastrian side, on which they fought at Barnet. They were fortunate enough to obtain pardon from the victorious Edward IV.; and two or three of the Paston brothers served in that King's bloodless expedition to France. Sir John died unmarried in November, 1479, and was succeeded by his brother John, whom Henry VII. knighted upon the field of Stoke in 1487. The male line of the family ended in 1732, with William Paston, 2nd Earl of Yarmouth.

The period covered by the "Paston Letters" extends from 1420 to 1506. In them we have, as it were, a set of photographs of the life of fifteenth-century gentlemen and gentlewomen, and of the world around them, where war and law went hand in hand, where no man scrupled at lawless deeds if they would serve his turn, but where he was equally ready to seize every advantage that law or the form of law could give him over his neighbour. The very love-making has more of business than of love in it; politics mainly consist in doing the best for oneself and one's family; parents are harsh and brutal with their children; guardians look upon their wards almost as chattels to be bought and sold Such was the world of the Pastons; themselves not heroic or romantic people, nay, often, to our notions, strangely hard and unaffectionate, but loyal to each other, courageous in a quiet business-like way, and, taken altogether, not without likeable qualities.

Other letters in the present book are derived from:—

(1.) *Historical MSS. Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Pt. IV. The MSS. of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., preserved at Belvoir Castle.* Vol. I. 1888.

(2.) *Mlle. Dupont's edition of Wavrin's Chronicles.* (See under "Foreign Writers.")

(3.) *Excerpta Historica*, published by Bentley in 1831.

(4.) *Christ Church Letters. A Volume of Mediæval Letters relating to the Affairs of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. Edited by J. B. Sheppard, M.R.C.S.* 1877. (Camden Society, N. S., XIX.). The extract is from a letter of Dr. Thomas Langton, a Westmoreland man by birth and an Oxford man by education, who was employed in the diplomatic service of the Yorkist Kings, and became successively Bishop of Saint David's (1483), of Salisbury (1485), and of Winchester (1493). He died in 1500.

SONGS AND BALLADS.

(1.) Lancastrian and Yorkist songs communicated by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., to Vol. XXIX. of *Archæologia* (1842).

(2.) *Chants historiques et populaires du temps de Charles VII et de Louis XI. . . publiés. . . par M. Le Roux de Lincy. Paris*, 1857.

(3.) Ballads, "Lady Bessy," edited by Halliwell in 1847 for the Percy Society (Vol. XX.); a somewhat later version is in Hales and Furnivall's edition of *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.—Ballads and Romances*, vol. III., 1868; where will also be found "Bosworth Field." These two ballads, with "The Rose of England," have a family likeness, both tending to the glorification of Cheshire and Lancashire men in general, and of the Stanley family in particular. We have them only in versions of the time of James I., or, at earliest, about 1600; but they are certainly descended from older, perhaps almost contemporary, originals.

FOREIGN WRITERS.

(1.) John of Wavrin was born in 1399 or 1400, the illegitimate son of Robert, Lord of Wavrin and Lillers, in Artois. At the age of fifteen he was present, on the French side, at the battle of Azincourt, where his father and half-brother

fell. Wavrin's next appearance as a soldier was in the Burgundian service: and through Duke Philip's alliance with Henry V., he was brought into company with the English, for whom he fought at the battles of Verneuil and Patay. On the latter occasion he was under the command of Sir John Fastolf. His service with our countrymen ceased when his lord the Duke of Burgundy broke with England. Not long afterwards, Wavrin gave up the profession of arms, and retired to Lille, where he married and took to literary pursuits. In 1442 he appears as Lord of Forestel, in Picardy; in 1465 he was councillor and chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy; and in 1467 he visited England in the train of the Bastard of Burgundy. He is supposed to have died in or about 1474.

Wavrin compiled in French "A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England," extending from fabulous times to the year 1471. No complete MS. of his work is known to exist in England. A selection of chapters, edited and annotated by Mlle. Dupont, was published by the *Societé de l'Histoire de France* (3 vols., Paris, 1858-63); and a complete edition, by the late Sir William Hardy and Mr. Edward L. C. P. Hardy, has since been brought out in the Rolls series. (5 vols., 1864-91.) The passages here extracted will be found in the Rolls edition at pp. 276, 277, 329, 330, of Vol. V., which had not appeared when our text was printed. A translation is in progress.

(2.) George Chastellain also belongs to the Burgundian school of historians. He was born, presumably about 1404-5, of a noble family in the county of Aalst or Alost in Flanders. As late as the age of twenty-five he was studying in the University of Louvain; but soon afterwards he gave up his student-life, and betook himself to travel, adventure, and the courts of princes. About 1446 he settled down in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, in whose household he held various offices, and by

whom he was employed on diplomatic missions. Growing weary at last of court life, he retired to Valenciennes, and devoted himself to literary and historical work. It was probably at this time that he received the title of the Duke's *indiciaire* or historiographer. In 1473 he was knighted by Duke Charles. Two years later he died, and was buried at Valenciennes.

His chief work is his Chronicle (in French), which originally comprised a period of more than half a century, beginning in 1419, but of which parts are lost. The standard edition is that of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, who has edited all Chastellain's works, in prose and verse (Brussels, 1863-66, 8 vols.).

(3.) Philip of Comines (also spelt Commines and Commynes) was born, of an ancient and noble Flemish family, at the castle of Comines, in 1445 or 1447, and had for godfather Duke Philip of Burgundy, whose service he early entered. He fought by the side of the heir of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, at the battle of Montlhéry in 1465, and, a few years later, he became the new Duke's councillor and chamberlain. In 1472 he deserted the service of Duke Charles to enter that of the King of France, Louis XI., who treated him with great favour and confidence, and employed him on diplomatic missions in Burgundy and Italy. By marriage he became Lord of Argenton in Poitou, of which province Louis XI. in 1476 made him Seneschal. Under the next King, Charles VIII., Comines involved himself in political intrigues which cost him eight months' imprisonment in an iron cage in the castle of Loches. Nevertheless, he recovered his ground, and was again employed in diplomacy; but with the accession of Louis XII. his political career practically ended. He died at the castle of Argenton in 1511.

Comines' fame rests upon his Memoirs, which are of the utmost value for the political history of his day. The standard edition is that of Mlle. Dupont (*Societé de l'Histoire de France,*

3 vols., Paris, 1840-47). More recently they have been re-edited by M. Chantelauze (Paris, 1881), from a previously unpublished MS. They were translated into English by Thomas Danett in 1596, and by Uvedale in 1712; and there is also a translation in Bohn's "Library of French Memoirs."

DR. JOHN WARKWORTH.

From 1473 to 1498 Dr. John Warkworth was Master of Saint Peter's College, Cambridge, to which in 1483 he gave a MS. volume of Chronicles which is still preserved in its library. The greater part consists of a copy of Caxton's edition of the Chronicle of Brute (*i.e.*, a chronicle beginning with the fabulous Trojan Brutus), but to this Warkworth made an addition, starting with Edward the Fourth's first parliament, and going down to Feb. 15, 1474. Its tendency is Lancastrian Warkworth's Chronicle was edited by Halliwell for the Camden Society in 1839 (No. X.), and was reprinted in modern spelling in *Chronicles of the White Rose*.

WILLIAM CAXTON.

William Caxton, the first English printer, was born in the Weald of Kent, probably about 1422, and was apprenticed on the 24th June, 1438, to Robert Large, a wealthy mercer in London, who was Mayor in 1439-40. Soon after his master's death in 1441, Caxton, still an apprentice, went to Bruges, where, under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy, English merchants were treated with much favour. There, on the termination of his apprenticeship in 1446, Caxton went into business for himself, and eventually became Governor of the chartered company of Merchant Adventurers, which had control over all English and Scottish traders in the Netherlands. The position was one of much importance and responsibility; and after five years or so, Caxton would seem to have wearied of its cares, and

to have desired more leisure for the literary pursuits to which he was already attached. At any rate, some time between May 1469 and March 1471, he gave up the Governorship, and entered the service of his countrywoman Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy. A demand for copies of a translation which he had made from a then much-admired French romance—"The Recuyell [*i.e.*, Collection] of the Histories of Troy"—led him to turn his attention to the new art of printing, which he studied at Cologne or Bruges, or both. "The Recuyell" is the earliest printed book in the English language.

In 1476 Caxton came home, and set up, within the precincts of Westminster Abbey, the first printing-press in England. The first book produced from it was a translation by Anthony, Earl of Rivers :—"The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," printed 1477. Thenceforth, down to the day of his death in 1491, Caxton was busily employed in writing, translating, and printing. The prologues and epilogues which he appended to his books show his powers as a writer of English. The extract here given is quoted from Mr. William Blades' *Life and Typography of William Caxton* (2 vols., London, 1861-63). Additional information will be found in Mr. Sidney Lee's article "Caxton," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. IX., pp. 381-89.

MORE'S HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III.

About 1513, according to the generally accepted statement, Sir Thomas More, the future Chancellor of Henry VIII., and then one of the Under-Sheriffs of London, wrote a history of Richard III., which he carried down a little beyond the murder of Edward's sons, there leaving it unfinished. A Latin version is also attributed to More. Whether he was really the author, or, as has been suggested, merely the copyist, the work is one of

great power. More, having been born in 1478, was but a child in the days of Richard III., and even if, as is supposed, the author obtained his information from Cardinal Morton, it remains a question how far his narrative is history and how far historical romance. But be the picture true or false, the Richard of his portraying—the dark and evil being whose bodily deformity was the outward and visible sign of the depravity within—will live on in the world of imagination; for the Richard of More's *History* was reproduced with yet more terrible power by Shakspere.

The English version was used to make part of a continuation to Hardyng's Chronicle, printed by Grafton in 1543, and was again printed in Hall's Chronicle and in Grafton's Chronicle; but what professed to be the genuine text, "from the copy of his own hand," first appeared in the folio edition of More's English works, London, 1557. The edition here cited is the reprint edited by Dr. Lumby, Pitt Press Series, Cambridge, 1883, to which is added the conclusion of the history of King Richard, as given in the Continuation of Hardyng's Chronicle. In reference to the question of the authorship and trustworthiness of the work, see the article, "Richard III.," by Mr. Clements R. Markham in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1891, and the answer by Mr. Gairdner in the July number. The former writer contests, the latter accepts, the attribution to More.

FABYAN'S CHRONICLES.

Robert Fabyan, of an Essex family, followed the business of a clothier in London, where he became a member of the Drapers' Company, and alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without. In 1493 he held the office of Sheriff. He died probably on the 28th February, 1513.

More ambitious than the earlier London chroniclers, Fabyan compiled what he termed a *Concordance of Histories*, mainly

based, as far as England was concerned, upon city annals, but having also sections devoted to the affairs of France. The first edition, printed in 1516, went down to the battle of Bosworth; the second, in 1533, contained in addition the history of the reign of Henry VII. The edition here cited is a modern one, that of Sir Henry Ellis, 1811.

I.—HOUSE OF LANCASTE

EDWARD III.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

b., born. d., died. *s. p.*, *sine prole*, without issue. *s. p. m.*, *sine prole masculâ*, without male issue. *s. p. l.*, *sine prole legitimâ*, without legitimate issue. *s. p. s.*, *sine prole superstite*, without surviving issue. *v. p.*, *vitâ patris*, in the father's life-time. *m.* married. = also indicates marriage. unm., unmarried. - - - - - - - indicates birth out of wedlock. † had issue. dau., daughter. cr., created. r., reigned. Kt., knight.

1 BLANCHE, dau. of Henry of Gresmont, Duke of Lancaster, m. 1359, d. 1369. = JOHN OF GAUNT, cr. Duke of Lancaster, 1362.

=2, (

m.

(3) (2) (1)

John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, and Duke of Exeter, beheaded 1400. = ELIZABETH of Lancaster.

PHILIPPA of Lancaster, *m. JOHN I. King of Portugal.* †

HENRY IV., b. 1366, d. 1413. *m.* 1, *Mary, dau. and co-heir of Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford.*

KATHERINE LANCASTER *m. HENRY King of Castil Leon.* †

JOHN HOLLAND, Duke of Exeter, d. 1446. *m.* 1, *Anne, widow of Edmund, Earl of March.*

HENRY V. b. 1388, d. 1422. *m. Katherine of France, who* = 2, OWEN TUDOR, beheaded after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

HENRY BEAUFORT, 2nd Earl of Somerset, b. 1401, d. unm. 1418.

JOHN BEAUFORT, cr. Duke of Somerset, 1443; d. 1444. *m. Margaret, dau. of Sir John Beauchamp, of Bletsoe, Kt.*

EDMUND BE cr. Marquess 1442; Duke of 1448; slain at 1455 *m. Eleanor Rich. Beauc Earl of W*

(2) (1)

HENRY HOLLAND, Duke of Exeter, d. *s. p. m.* 1473. *m. Anne of York.*

HENRY VI. b. 1421, d. 1471. *m.* MARGARET *of* ANJOU.

JASPER TUDOR, cr. Earl of Pembroke, 1453, and Duke of Bedford, 1485; d. *s. p.* 1495. *m. Katherine Wydevile, widow of the Duke of Buckingham.*

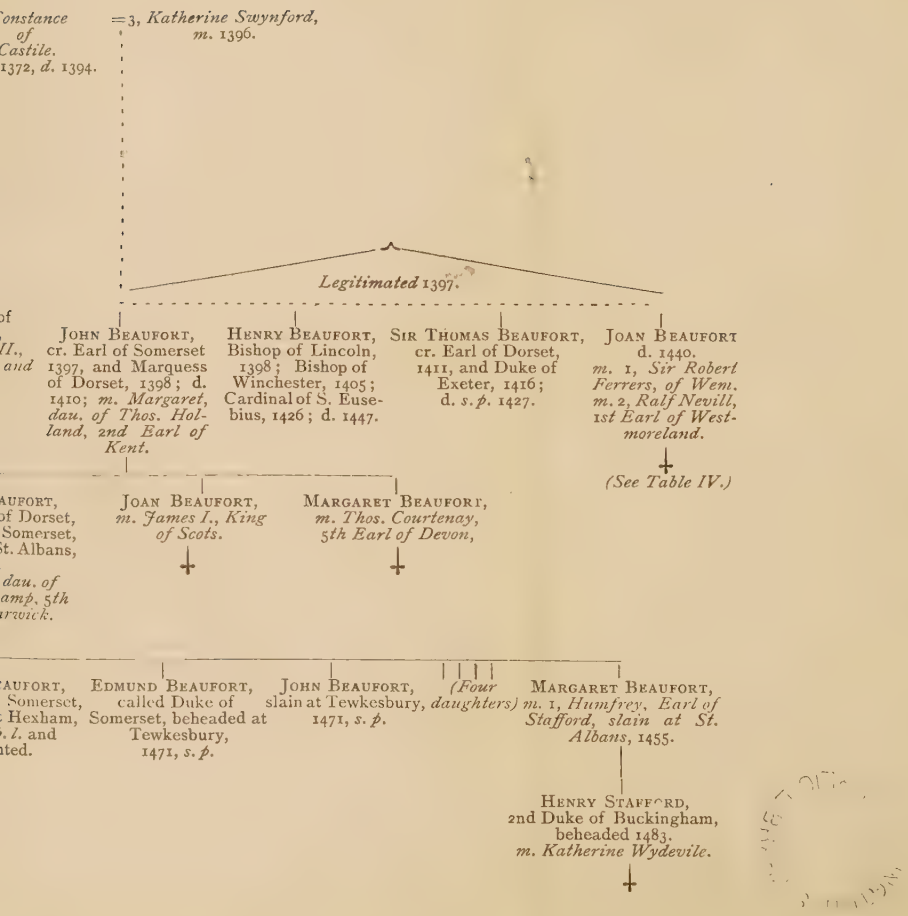
EDMUND TUDOR = cr. Earl of Richmond, 1452, d. 1456.

MARGARET BEAUFORT, b. 1443, d. 1509. *m.* 2, *Sir Henry Stafford, Knight.* *m.* 3, *Thomas, Lord Stanley.*

HENRY B 2nd Duke o beheaded a 1464, *s.* attai

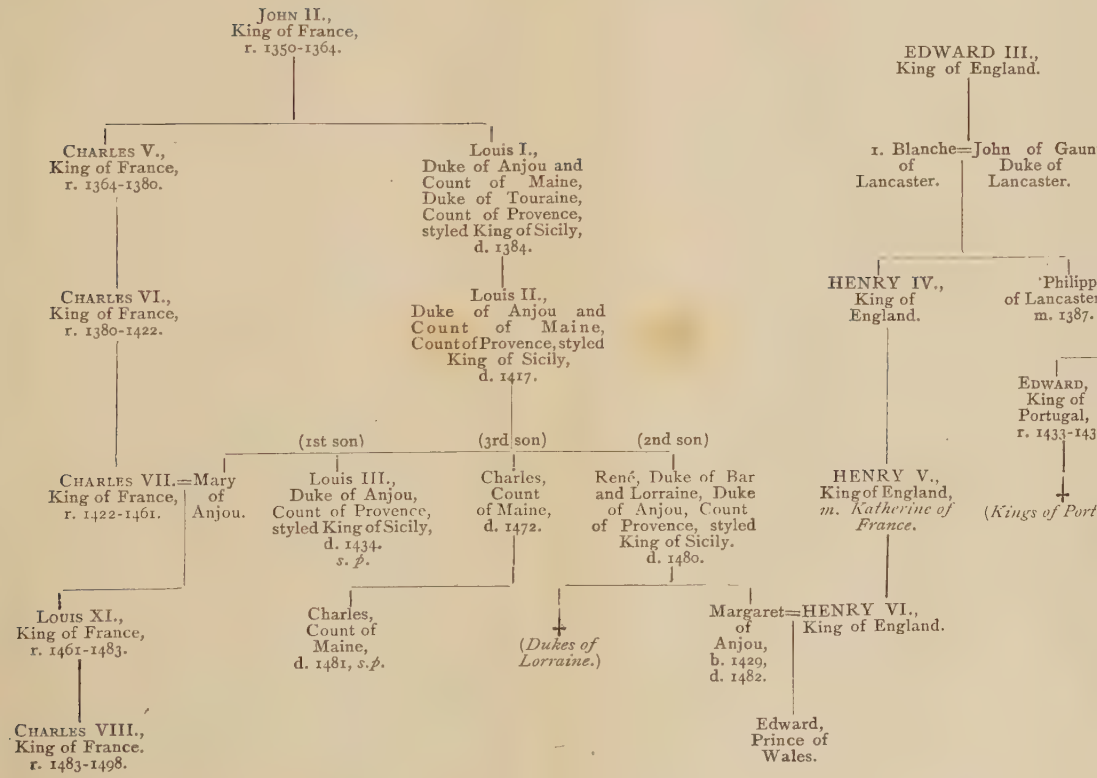
EDWARD, Prince of Wales, b. 1453, slain at Tewkesbury, 1471. *betrothed or married to Anne Nevill.*

HENRY VII., b. 1457, d. 1509. *m.* ELIZABETH *of* YORK. †


onstance
of
Castile.
1372, d. 1394.
=3, Katherine Swynford, m. 1396.
Legitimated 1397.
of
II., and
John Beaufort, cr. Earl of Somerset 1397, and Marquess of Dorset, 1398; d. 1410; m. Margaret, dau. of Thos. Holland, 2nd Earl of Kent.
Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, 1398; Bishop of Winchester, 1405; Cardinal of S. Eusebius, 1426; d. 1447.
Sir Thomas Beaufort, cr. Earl of Dorset, 1411, and Duke of Exeter, 1416; d. s. p. 1427.
Joan Beaufort d. 1440. m. 1, Sir Robert Ferrers, of Wem. m. 2, Ralf Nevill, 1st Earl of Westmoreland.
(See Table IV.)
AUFORT, of Dorset, Somerset, St. Albans,
dau. of amp. 5th arwick.
Joan Beaufort, m. James I., King of Scots.
Margaret Beaufort, m. Thos. Courtenay, 5th Earl of Devon,
AUFORT, Somerset, Hexham, l. and ated.
Edmund Beaufort, called Duke of Somerset, beheaded at Tewkesbury, 1471, s. p.
John Beaufort, slain at Tewkesbury, 1471, s. p.
(Four daughters)
Margaret Beaufort, m. 1, Humfrey, Earl of Stafford, slain at St. Albans, 1455.
Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1483. m. Katherine Wydevile.

II.—CONNEXION OF THE HOUSE OF LA

WITH PORTUGAL, BURGUNDY, AND ANJ


John II., King of France, r. 1350-1364.
Charles V., King of France, r. 1364-1380.
Louis I., Duke of Anjou and Count of Maine, Duke of Touraine, Count of Provence, styled King of Sicily, d. 1384.
Charles VI., King of France, r. 1380-1422.
Louis II., Duke of Anjou and Count of Maine, Count of Provence, styled King of Sicily, d. 1417.
(1st son)
(3rd son)
(2nd son)
Charles VII. = Mary of Anjou.
King of France, r. 1422-1461.
Louis III., Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, styled King of Sicily, d. 1434. s. p.
Charles, Count of Maine, d. 1472.
René, Duke of Bar and Lorraine, Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, styled King of Sicily. d. 1480.
Louis XI., King of France, r. 1461-1483.
Charles, Count of Maine, d. 1481, s. p.
(Dukes of Lorraine.)
Margaret = Henry VI., King of England.
of Anjou, b. 1429, d. 1482.
Charles VIII., King of France. r. 1483-1498.
Edward, Prince of Wales.
Edward III., King of England.
1. Blanche of Lancaster.
= John of Gaun Duke of Lancaster.
Henry IV., King of England.
Philipp of Lancaste m. 1387.
Henry V., King of England, m. Katherine of France.
Edward, King of Portugal, r. 1433-143
(Kings of Port

NCASTER

OU.

Peter the Cruel,
King of Castile and Leon,

|

,=2. *Constance of Castile.*

|

a=John I., King of Portugal, r. 1383-1433.

Katherine of Lancaster, d. 1418. = Henry III., King of Castile and Leon, r. 1390-1406.

†

(Sovereigns of Castile and Leon.)

|

Isabel of Portugal. = Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, r. 1419-1467.

8.

ugal.)

|

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, r. 1467-1477 ;
m. 2. *Isabel of Bourbon.*

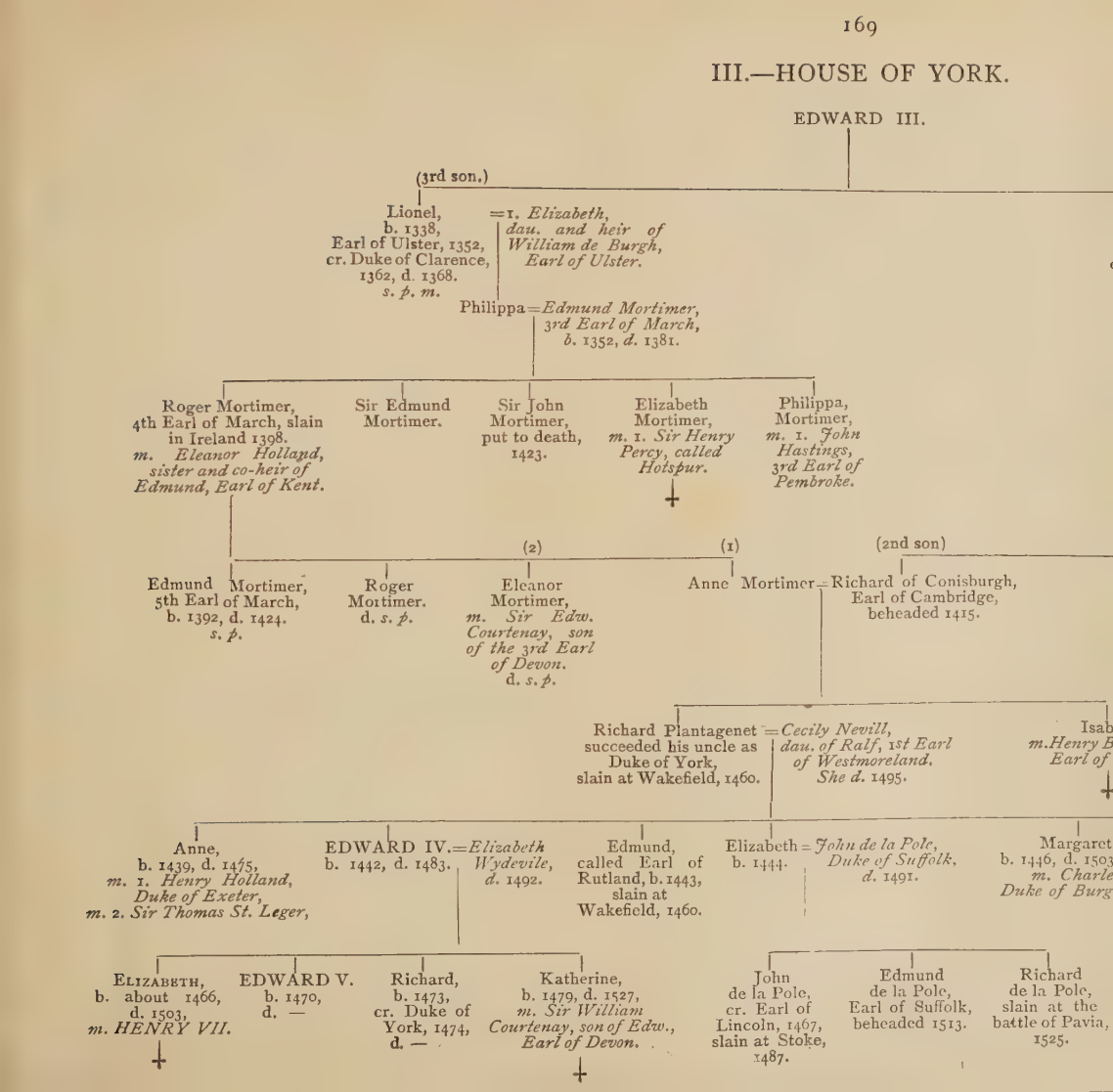
|

Mary of Burgundy.

=

†

III.—HOUSE OF YORK.


EDWARD III.
(3rd son.)
Lionel, b. 1338, Earl of Ulster, 1352, cr. Duke of Clarence, 1362, d. 1368. s. p. m.
=1. Elizabeth, dau. and heir of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.
Philippa=Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March, b. 1352, d. 1381.
Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March, slain in Ireland 1398. m. Eleanor Holland, sister and co-heir of Edmund, Earl of Kent.
Sir Edmund Mortimer.
Sir John Mortimer, put to death, 1423.
Elizabeth Mortimer, m. 1. Sir Henry Percy, called Hotspur.
Philippa, Mortimer, m. 1. John Hastings, 3rd Earl of Pembroke.
(2)
(1)
(2nd son)
Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, b. 1392, d. 1424. s. p.
Roger Mortimer. d. s. p.
Eleanor Mortimer, m. Sir Edw. Courtenay, son of the 3rd Earl of Devon. d. s. p.
Anne Mortimer=Richard of Conisburgh, Earl of Cambridge, beheaded 1415.
Richard Plantagenet succeeded his uncle as Duke of York, slain at Wakefield, 1460.
=Cecily Nevill, dau. of Ralf, 1st Earl of Westmoreland. She d. 1495.
Isab
m. Henry B
Earl of
Anne, b. 1439, d. 1475, m. 1. Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, m. 2. Sir Thomas St. Leger,
EDWARD IV.=Elizabeth Wydevile, d. 1492.
b. 1442, d. 1483.
Edmund, called Earl of Rutland, b. 1443, slain at Wakefield, 1460.
Elizabeth=John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, d. 1491.
b. 1444.
Margaret
b. 1446, d. 1503
m. Charle
Duke of Burg
Elizabeth, b. about 1466, d. 1503, m. HENRY VII.
EDWARD V. b. 1470, d. —
Richard, b. 1473, cr. Duke of York, 1474, d. —
Katherine, b. 1479, d. 1527, m. Sir William Courtenay, son of Edw., Earl of Devon.
John de la Pole, cr. Earl of Lincoln, 1467, slain at Stoke, 1487.
Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, beheaded 1513.
Richard de la Pole, slain at the battle of Pavia, 1525.

(5th son.)

Edmund of Langley, b. 1341, cr. Earl of Cambridge, 1362, and Duke of York, 1385, d. 1402.

=1. *Isabel of Castile*, *d.* 1394.

(1st son)

Edward, 2nd Duke of York, slain at Azincourt, 1415, *s. p.*

Constance, *m. Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who was beheaded* 1400.

†

l, urchier, ssex.

s. p.

ndy.

George, b. 1449, cr. Duke of Clarence, 1461, put to death 1477. *m.* 1469 *Isabel Nevill.*

RICHARD III., b. 1452, slain 1485, *m.* 1473 *Anne Nevill.*

Edward, Earl of Warwick, beheaded 1499.

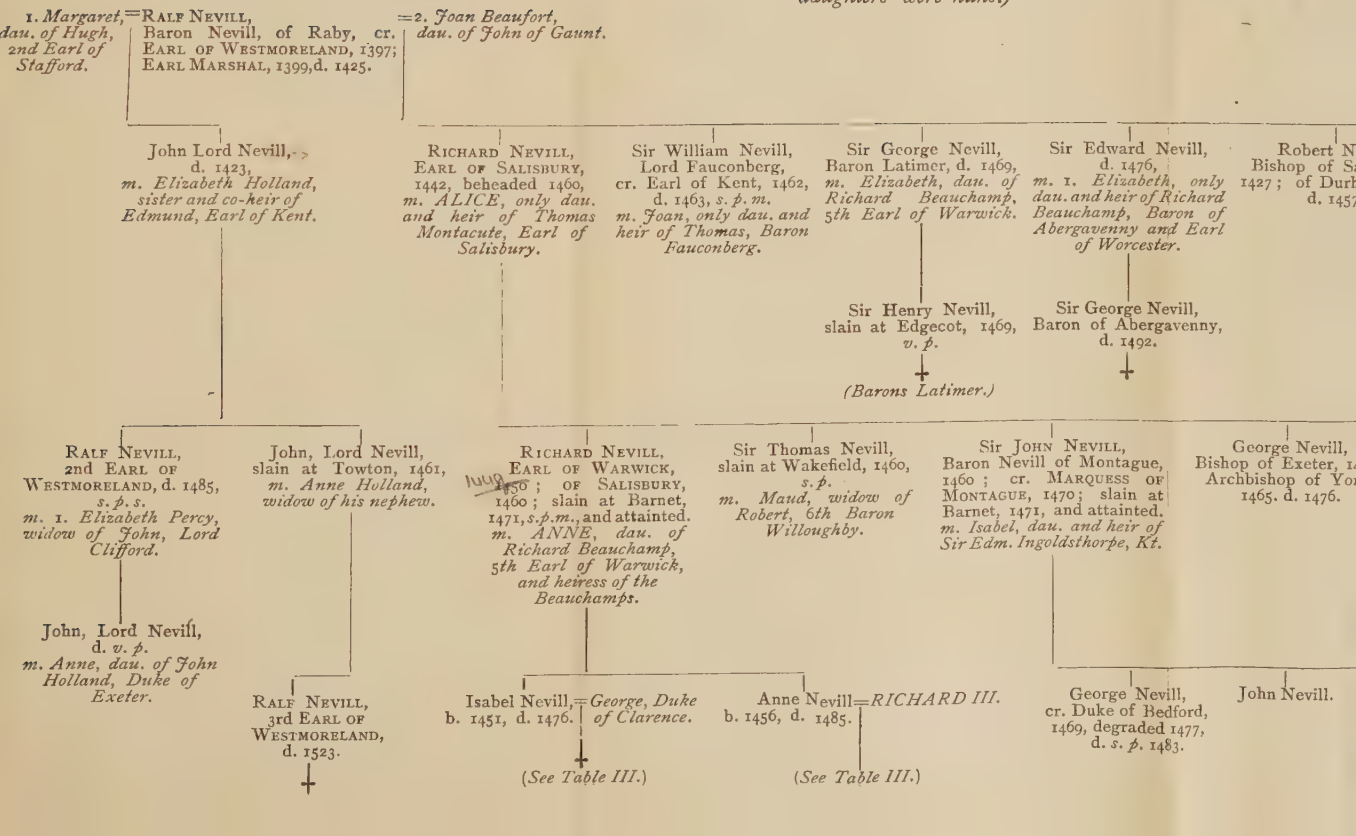
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury 1513, beheaded 1541, *m. Sir Richard Pole.*

†

Edward, Prince of Wales, b about 1476, d. 1484.

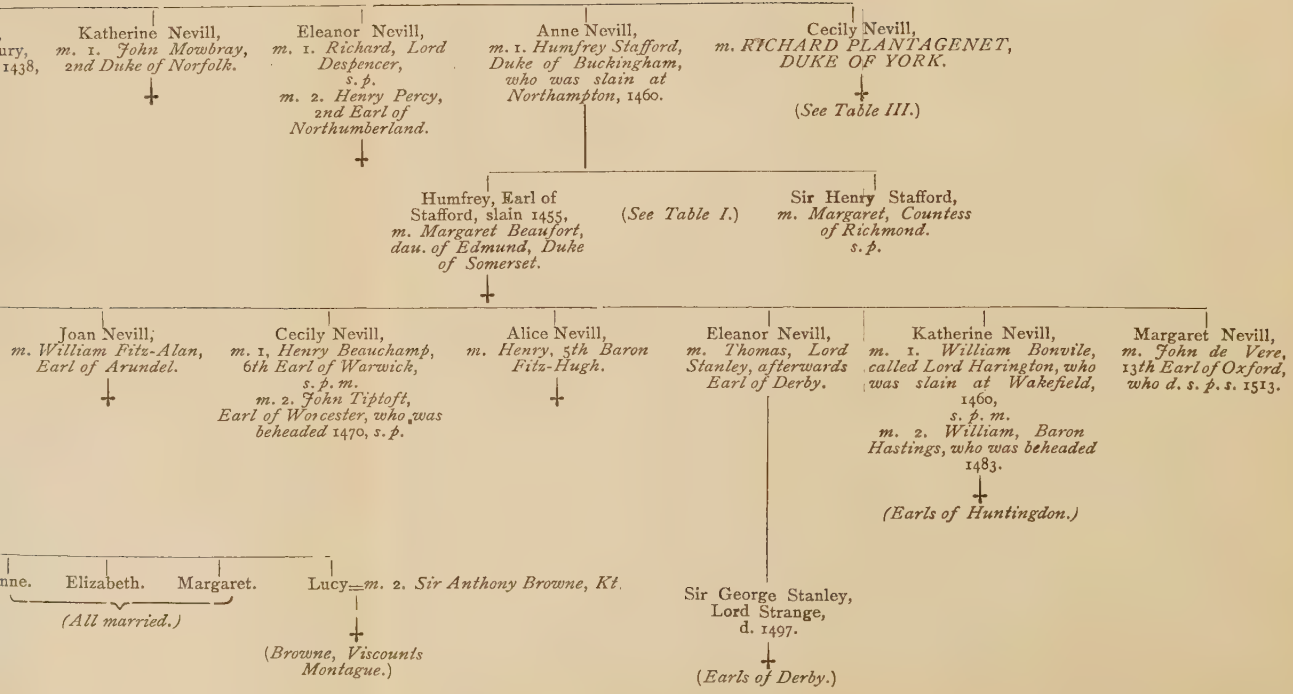
IV.—THE NEVI

(The 1st Earl of Westmoreland had twenty-two child his first marriage, eight sons and five daughters by daughters were nuns.)


1. Margaret, dau. of Hugh, 2nd Earl of Stafford.
Ralf Nevill, Baron Nevill, of Raby, cr. Earl of Westmoreland, 1397; Earl Marshal, 1399, d. 1425.
2. Joan Beaufort, dau. of John of Gaunt.
John Lord Nevill, d. 1423, m. Elizabeth Holland, sister and co-heir of Edmund, Earl of Kent.
Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, 1442, beheaded 1460, m. ALICE, only dau. and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.
Sir William Nevill, Lord Fauconberg, cr. Earl of Kent, 1462, d. 1463, s. p. m. m. Joan, only dau. and heir of Thomas, Baron Fauconberg.
Sir George Nevill, Baron Latimer, d. 1469, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Richard Beauchamp, 5th Earl of Warwick.
Sir Edward Nevill, d. 1476, m. 1. Elizabeth, only dau. and heir of Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Abergavenny and Earl of Worcester.
Robert N Bishop of S 1427; of Durh d. 1457
Sir Henry Nevill, slain at Edgecot, 1469, v. p.
(Barons Latimer.)
Sir George Nevill, Baron of Abergavenny, d. 1492.
Ralf Nevill, 2nd Earl of Westmoreland, d. 1485, s. p. s. m. 1. Elizabeth Percy, widow of John, Lord Clifford.
John, Lord Nevill, slain at Towton, 1461, m. Anne Holland, widow of his nephew.
Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, 1450; of Salisbury, 1460; slain at Barnet, 1471, s. p. m., and attainted. m. ANNE, dau. of Richard Beauchamp, 5th Earl of Warwick, and heiress of the Beauchamps.
Sir Thomas Nevill, slain at Wakefield, 1460, s. p. m. Maud, widow of Robert, 6th Baron Willoughby.
Sir John Nevill, Baron Nevill of Montague, 1460; cr. Marquess of Montague, 1470; slain at Barnet, 1471, and attainted. m. Isabel, dau. and heir of Sir Edm. Ingoldsthorpe, Kt.
George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, 1 Archbishop of Yo 1465. d. 1476.
John, Lord Nevill, d. v. p. m. Anne, dau. of John Holland, Duke of Exeter.
Ralf Nevill, 3rd Earl of Westmoreland, d. 1523.
Isabel Nevill, b. 1451, d. 1476. = George, Duke of Clarence.
(See Table III.)
Anne Nevill, b. 1456, d. 1485. = RICHARD III.
(See Table III.)
George Nevill, cr. Duke of Bedford, 1469, degraded 1477, d. s. p. 1483.
John Nevill.

S.

—*two sons and seven daughters by second marriage. Three of the*


ury, 1438,
Katherine Nevill, m. 1. John Mowbray, 2nd Duke of Norfolk.
Eleanor Nevill, m. 1. Richard, Lord Despencer, s. p. m. 2. Henry Percy, 2nd Earl of Northumberland.
Anne Nevill, m. 1. Humfrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was slain at Northampton, 1460.
Cecily Nevill, m. RICHARD PLANTAGENET, DUKE OF YORK.
(See Table III.)
Humfrey, Earl of Stafford, slain 1455, m. Margaret Beaufort, dau. of Edmund, Duke of Somerset.
(See Table I.)
Sir Henry Stafford, m. Margaret, Countess of Richmond. s. p.
Joan Nevill, m. William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel.
Cecily Nevill, m. 1, Henry Beauchamp, 6th Earl of Warwick, s. p. m. 2. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who was beheaded 1470, s. p.
Alice Nevill, m. Henry, 5th Baron Fitz-Hugh.
Eleanor Nevill, m. Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.
Katherine Nevill, m. 1. William Bonvile, called Lord Harington, who was slain at Wakefield, 1460, s. p. m. 2. William, Baron Hastings, who was beheaded 1483.
(Earls of Huntingdon.)
Margaret Nevill, m. John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, who d. s. p. s. 1513.
nne.
Elizabeth.
Margaret.
(All married.)
Lucy=m. 2. Sir Anthony Browne, Kt.
(Browne, Viscounts Montague.)
Sir George Stanley, Lord Strange, d. 1497.
(Earls of Derby.)

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